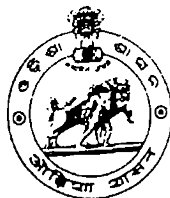


An Approach to Some Aspects of SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

ORISSA STATE ARCHIVES

BHUBANESWAR



GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA

AN APPROACH TO SOME ASPECTS OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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BHUBANESWAR
1997

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PREFACE

The closing years of the 19th century were significant for the British empire. British imperial pride got its finest expression in the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897. In the same year was born Subhas Chandra Bose, (*the Springing Tiger*) who was to challenge the might of the British empire almost single handed. This view of N.G.Jog is absolutely correct. An intensive approach to the study on Subhas Chandra Bose is necessary for a comprehensive study on the national movement in India. During his life time and even after his death he has been the interesting centres of legends. An attempt should be made to approach his problems from an unbiased and rational point of view. The pattern of leadership during the Gandhian phase of national movement must be studied with increasing attention to the rural leadership. A study on Subhas Bose does fit in the perspective of nationalist leadership pattern. Subhas Bose played a significant role in the labour movement in Calcutta and Jamshedpur in the twenties of the present century; he was the leading figure in the thirties and forties for his effective participation in the national movement; for his effort for mass mobilization and participation. His attention to the problems of Congress and his effort for its dynamic growth are the most interesting part of a historian's job. His formation of Forward Bloc and his INA in the intense struggle against the British Raj need a careful approach.

The present volume on Subhas Chandra Bose contains research papers of this perspective. On the basis of several documentary evidences historians have presented many interesting accounts. Attention has been directed by the writers of this volume on the problem of Indianization by Subhas, his connection with Oriya problems, his formation of Forward Bloc and the involvement of the Oriyas in it, his perspectives on the Congress activities, Gandhi-Bose feud and its relevance to the present politics, his contribution to INA and his political philosophy in the context of Indin nationalism. Hence it is expected that the work will be an important addition to the study on Subhas Chandra Bose.

I am grateful to the learned contributors to this volume for the pain they took to present an outline of their topics and for giving an idea of the unknown aspects on the study of Subhas Chandra Bose. It is an humble attempt in the direction of a comprehensive study on the role of the leaders in the Indian struggle for independence. In spite of all limitations I hope that this will serve as a useful source of information to the scholars.

I hasten to confess that most of the articles were hastily collected, roughly edited and rushed through the printing machine for publication in a couple of weeks time. I crave for the indulgence of the readers for all types of omission and commission which resulted from such decision.

I am thankful to the staff of Orissa State Archives for helping me in editing this volume and bringing out the publication in time.

In the preparation of the work, I owe my gratitude to a few dignitaries for their appreciation of Archival publications. Among them the eminent litterateur of erudition, Sri Janaki Ballav Pattanayak, the Honourable Chief Minister, Orissa stands first. Next to him are Sri Bhupinder Singh, Honourable Minister, Tourism and Culture, Sri S.B.Mishra, I.A.S.,Chief Secretary to Government of Orissa, Sri D.N.Padhi, I.A.S.,Commissioner-cum-Secretary to Government of Orissa, Tourism and Culture and Sri A.K.Tripathy, I.A.S.,Director, Culture whose appreciation encouraged me to take up such research oriented publication works in the best interest of the scholarly world.

Bhubaneswar
22 November 1997

Prahlad Sahoo
Superintendent
Orissa State Archives

IN SEARCH OF THE NETAJI

Manmath Nath Das

It is an irony of fate in case of most historic personages that the real accounts of their early life as well as of their later achievements remain unknown in most parts to the posterity for various natural reasons including, of course, the lack of substantive material for writing history. In case of the lives of the heroes, there is yet another tragedy that they rise to greatness at a point of time, quite unanticipated in earlier years of life, and when in heroic action, that phase of the life also gets greatly lost in the smoke and dust of the battle fields.

An ancient hero Alexander the Great, son of King Philip of Macedon and a pupil of philosopher Aristotle, was fortunate to have lived in an age when his contemporary Greeks were acutely aware of the value of history as a discipline of knowledge, so much so that even a troop of historians followed his armies to cover his eastern expeditions in written form. Not so fortunate was a modern hero of equal stature, Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of an unknown Poorish Corsican who became the Emperor of the French and the conqueror of Europe. It is only when he became great that the historians endeavoured to gather information about his early life from living contemporaries, who, of course, had to utter flattering words to show as if they had marked the signs of future greatness on his forehead even while he was in primary school.

Subhas Chandra Bose was a 'hero' of India's freedom struggle in the true soldierly sense of the term 'hero' during the closing chapter of that struggle, and that two in distant war Fronts far outside the Frontiers of India. In accordance with the aforesaid irony, his early life as well as later herdic actions are not yet

completely revealed. Added to this usual phenomenon, Bose as a hero suffered a farther tragedy in a typical indigenous style when his post-heroic memory got mystified in a cluster of myths ranging from incredible theories to ludicrous stories. Bidhan Chandra Roy, when Chief Minister of West Bengal, could easily burst the bubble of 'Netaji' as the sholamari Sadhu'; but, today, even if a grandson of Subhas Chandra Bose, Sri Ashis Roy personally ascertained in 1995 from the old Japanese doctor who saw Netaji's death in a military hospital after the air-crash at Taiwan Taihuk on 18th August 1945, and even if Netaji's own daughter Ms Anita Bose Plaff declared in Mumbai as late as in October 1997 "I am convinced as a rational person with a scientific approach that my father is no longer alive", yet there can be incidents like 'A Union Minister beaten up for unwittingly referring to Netaji in the *past tense.*

We forget the fact that a hero remains immortal in history for his death in the battle; he does not remain deathless in physical form and that, too, without any definite evidence of living for more than half a century. Figments of imagination do not constitute history.

I come to the point how historical material get lost for not unnatural reasons, and how some facts are discovered rather by chance. I refer to three incidents of my own experience when I could know how the facts are lost, and to one incident when my younger brother Professor Manoj Das of Sri Aurobindo International Centre of Education at Pondichery discovered true accounts of a remarkable adventure of the Netaji from first-hand sources before it was late.

In 1946, when I was a student of B.A. final year class in Ravenshaw College, one evening I saw one Col. Brajamohan talking to Harekrishna Mahtab in the Swaraj Ashram of Cuttack. Mahtab introduced him to some of us saying, "Here is a brave son

of Orissa who joined the British army as a medical man, served in Burma during the Second World War and ultimately joined the Azad Hind Fauz and came into close contact with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." I heard Mahtab enquiring curiously about Netaji and Col. Brajamohan talking profusely about the INA. At the close of their conversation, Mahatab requested the Col. to write an elaborate report about his INA experiences and his relation with Bose and to submit it to him as early as possible. Years afterwards when I asked Mahtab if he received the said report, his reply was in the negative. By then, Col. Brajamohan was no more.

One day in 1963, I was travelling with the then Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, Dr. P.Parija, from Bhubaneswar to distant Gopalpur when he recollected his early life vividly. In course of his narration, he described his intimate friendship with Subhas Chandra Bose during their London days, and of their correspondences for about a decade or more. "Born, brought up and educated in Cuttack, Subhas loved his place of birth so much that in many of his letters he used to enquire about places and persons of his childhood and youthful days and remembered even the lanes and bi-lanes of Cuttack.. One constant querry from him was about the economic condition of the people as if he did not forget the picture of poverty he had seen. I used to reply in detail about all that he wanted to know," said Parija. When I questioned if the letters of Bose were still in his possession his prompt reply was, "Oh! no. How could have I known that Subhas of those days would become a Congress President in future and finally the Netaji?"

In the early eighties I got information about a more than ninety-years old man of Orissa named Suryamani Nayak who, while working as the car driver of Desabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das for several years had seen almost all the great leaders of India from

close quarters and had heard their discussions. Those leaders included men like Aurobindo Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Madhu Sudan Das, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu and Maulana Azad. After the death of C.R. Das, he lived in Calcutta till finally he joined the group of freedom fighters under Subhas Chandra Bose in their attempt to demolish the infamous Black Hole Memorial of Calcutta. When I met Nayak to record his statement, his voice was faint and memory hazzy. Yet he could remember some of the events of those days particularly of the Black Hole Memorial agitation and of the activities of Subhas Bose before his arrest and escape. I felt sorry that I could not meet Nayak five or seven years ago.

It was my younger brother professor Manoj Das who made a valuable contribution to the life history of Netaji Bose by throwing new light on his 'great escape' from Calcutta in January 1941 through strict British surveillance for a great adventure outside India which led him to his real saga of heroism. One of the early associates of Sri Aurobindo of the latter's revolutionary days in the first decade of the century informed Manoj Das at Pondichery that the lone individual who was directly involved in that 'escape' was living in Calcutta. Collecting his Calcutta address from the informer Das made a trip to find that. The person was none other than a nephew of Subhas Bose, Sri Sisir Kumar Bose who played the role of a driver to take his uncle from Calcutta to Gomoh and who had worked out the detailed programme of the escape from Peshwar to Kabul and from Kabul to Bokhara and Moscow to finally reach Hitler's Berlin in March 1941. Those accounts of Sisir Kumar Bose were published in *The Heritage* in 1986, sounding like an epic story. On a subsequent occasion, Manoj Das went to the Andamans and saw some rare unpublished records in the Naval Department containing informations about the *Netaji*.

In 1983, at the instance of the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, I was called upon to compile the Third Volume of the Centenary History of the Indian National Congress covering the period from 1935 to 1947. In one of the meetings of the Editorial Board when I discussed the issue of devoting one full chapter to Netaji Bose and the Indian National Army, atleast two eminent members raised their mild objections that since Subhas Bose did not compromise on vital principles of the non-violent struggle, his role need not be over emphasised in an official history of the Congress.

To me, however, the problem appeared some what intriguing as to why did Bose, the Congress President, decide to break away from the parent organisation on the basic issue of non-violence. From his various statements, comments, writings, speeches and other evidences, it was not difficult to understand the logic he upheld on the eve of the Second World War, a logic that turned into a burning faith. I briefly refer to the line of his thought arising out of a deep conviction at that critical juncture of time in the history of humanity in the following words.

By 1937 it was apparent to the world statesmen that the clouds of the second great war had deepened on political horizon and the storm might breakforth any moment on any pretext to cause the greatest devastation to mankind. It was going to be a war, incomprehensible in character. To Bose, when the whole world was going to be engulfed in an unprecedented violence, should or could India remain the only isolated country on earth to uphold the value and virtue of non-violence? Would not the British engage hundreds of thousands of Indian soldiers in various war fronts as they did in the first Great World War ? And, should these Indians under the command of their British Generals come out from the holocaust without losing their lives because of their being the

citizens of a non-violent country?

Secondly, when the British would fight a life and death struggle against their mortal foe, the Germans, they would gladly sacrifice their lives in countless numbers for the very survival of the race. While dying like flies else where, it was only in India that the life of every single Briton would be considered inviolable, sacred and sanctified and left untouched because of the principle of non-violence. How far was it justified in the perspective of the spirit of the time that breathed violence and particularly when India was fighting for its own liberation? If Britain would not hesitate to sacrifice Indian lives to defend her own Empire, why should the Indians be respectful to the lives of the rulers while trying for the emancipation of their own Motherland ?

In spite of his non-adherence to the strict code of the Congress fundamentals, Subhas Chandra Bose was elected as the Congress President in 1938. His non-conformist views became more confirmed when the Second World War broke out in 1939. Though elected for the second term as Congress President, he thought it desirable to relinquish the office in order to work out his own strategies.

The strategy of the National Congress at that time was not to extend any kind of moral or material support on behalf of India to the British Imperial Government in its war efforts against Nazi Germany. To Bose, it was an exercise in futility since 565 native Princes of India including the Nizam and the Maharajas mobilised their resources to support their Emperor and the Muslim League under Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Jubilant at the fall of the Congress ministries, was ready to help the British by all means. Further more, the national revenue of the Sub-Continent was at the disposal of the Government to spend it to any astronomical figure in the name of the Defence of India. What use was it, therefore, on

part of the Congress to carry on verbal or paper propaganda against the British War efforts ?

Two other considerations also seemed to have dominated the thought of Subhas Chandra Bose after the outbreak of the war. By 1940, the Nazi forces dealt blow after blow on the Allied Forces in Europe and conquered country after country on the continent and humbled the British pride by devastating air - raids on that island kingdom. Supposing that the Nazis, after defeating the Allied Powers succeeded in fulfilling Adolf Hitler's dream of world domination, would the Germans grant India independence on a silver plate? If not, was India destined only to change her masters?

On the other hand, if England won the War by paying the heaviest cost in human lives and going bankrupt, was it ever possible on part of the British imperialists to grant India independence and leave the country by handing over power to a hostile Congress?

Working on such plausible premises, Bose reached at the obvious conclusion that India should try to take full advantage of the world situation and chalk out its own programme of action to win independence. Since Gandhi and the Congress were not prepared to deviate from their established principles of a non-violent struggle to win freedom, Bose decided to walk alone in working out a new strategy. There are evidences to believe that Bose at that stage felt convinced of a wide support from the new-generation youth irrespective of caste and creeds. Here in lay the individuality of Bose as a man of conviction, courage, determination and action. Here, too lies the reason of his 'great escape' from India in January 1941, in disguise first as a Maulavi, next as a dumb and mute Pathan and finally as an Italian to reach Berlin in March 1941; and atleast as an Indian, he left Germany for Japan in February 1943 in one of the most perilous journeys ever undertaken for the cause

of one's country.

Coming back to the topic of historical material about the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose during those fateful years from 1941 to 1945, there was no chance for any person to maintain a day-to-day chronicle of all the events. It is only some brief, haphazard and fragmentary accounts which constitute the history of the Netaji and of the INA of that eventful epoch. A few years back, even it was uncertain as to when, where and how the epithet of 'Netaji' took its origin! I felt surprised to see in a National Daily which contained the opinion of an eminent person that, because, Gandhi was called '*Mahatma*', Nehru, had the adjective of '*Pandit*', and patel was called '*Sardar*', in similar manner, Subhas Chandra was called '*Netaji*' Bose. Such Superficial opinions only vitiate the truth.

Thanks to Dr. T.R. Sareen, a learned historian and the Director of the Indian Council of Historical Research, who while ransacking the English translations of the war-time German, Japanese and British intelligence reports, came across a British Intelligence Report, saying, "To the axis clamour to corrupt Indian opinion was added the voice of Subhas Bose, and astute agitator and dangerous revolutionary with a life long hatred against everything British." The report further described Bose as an "ardent jdisciple of Hitler" and a hero of what was known as "Hitler Inspired Fifth Column." The British agents in the thick of the war, viewed Bose with an eye of extreme prejudice and hatred and thought of him in the light of the above description for his broad-cast from the Azad Hind Radio Station in North Germany in the most inflammatory language, calling upon his countrymen in India to rise in violent upsurge against the British. It is in one such British Report it was mentioned that Bose "endeavoured to create a halo of supreme leadership around him and to be known as *Netaji* (The Leader)."

The term *Netaji* had its origin in Germany when Hitler permitted Bose to form an Indian Legion, using the Indian Prisoners of war taken by Germans and Italians from different battle-fronts of Africa and elsewhere. By early 1942, Bose was seen greeting his 'Army of free India' with the slogan 'Jai Hind' and, the soldiers, saluting him as the *Netaji*, in pattern of German soldier's saluting Hitler with the word 'Fuehrer' or the Leader'. Bose also tought his soldiers to greet eachother with the words 'Jai Hind'.

Those of the British Reporters who thought of Subhas Bose as an 'ardent disciple of Hitler', did not fathom the depth of his patriotism as well as his determination to win the independence of his country with the help of England's enemies from outside. Finding that Hitler was in no position to extend his war towards West-Asia because of his Russian adventure and aware of Japan's remarkable success in the Pacific war and in South East Asia, Bose finally requested the Nazi dictator to permit him to go to Japan. Hitler is reported to have told Bose. "All that I want is the realization of India's independence. So if you want to go over to Japan I will do everything in my power to help you." (Vide Memoirs of Col. Yamamoto)

So began the journey of Netaji Bose to Japan in February 1943 in a small U Boat. Once in the Far East and South East Asia he organised the INA with about 35,000 regular soldiers, abandoned by the British and recruiting more than 18,000 civilians to join his force. The call was *Challo Delhi* - March on to Delhi.

Every day of Netaji since early 1943 to the moment when atom bombs fell on Japan was a day of extreme exertion, anxiety and adventure. But, the story of all those days is mostly lost to historical oblivion. Whatever information is being gathered or already gathered may provide only a faint sketch of a heroic affair, but never a complete history.

I conclude with giving only an indication about a most pathetic aspect of the entire INA episode. We are aware of the famous Trial of the INA Generals at the end of the war which led to a nationwide stir, unnerving the British. It goes without saying that the role of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA outside India and its influence on Indian mind hastened the process of the Transfer of Power. But, a question will go unanswered in history as to what happened to thousands of Azad Hind Soldiers when the British reconquered Singapore and Burma after the fall of Japan. Some of them surrendered, some others were captured and taken prisoners and quite a number of them remained missing. Some recorded hints, however, are available in this connection in British Archives that the vengeful English soldiers liquidated most of them in cold-blooded murder, caused them to perish in the dense jungles of Burma in starvation and did not allow them even to come out of the forest to surrender. Hiding in inaccessible mountainous tracts of Burma, living upon leaves and roots of trees for unnumbered days, finally they met their end, leaving behind heaps of skeletons on foreign soil as memorial to their heroism. That part of the INA episode will ever remain an untold story of our Freedom Struggle.



INDIANIZATION AND SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Prahlad Sahoo

Events have proved that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a born revolutionary. Little did his parents think when he was born that this child was destined to leave a lasting mark in Indian history. They recognised something in him that was quite different from his brothers and other boys in the neighbourhood. For more than a half century since Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose disappeared from the world scene, the people of India have yearned for his re-emergence. He has been to his people the leader of hope in an age of disillusionment, the like of whom has not been found in the annals of India's long struggle for freedom.

Subhas Bose was undoubtedly a man of action. He was greatly influenced by the idealism of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das who felt highly relieved and began to watch the date when the precious soul would come to his presence by throwing the job of Civil Service and join him under his banner as a worker. Subhas came towards the middle of July, 1921 and threw himself heart and soul under the lead and guidance of Deshbandhu. He too cherished the highest regard for him as a master, inspiration and guide. He dedicated to the cause of the Mother land being influenced by the great personality of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das.

At a very young age, Subhas shouldered any responsibility which was offered to him for the cause of the Mother land. In the year 1928 he was the President of the Lobour Association, Jamshedpur. He fought for the welfare of the labourers working in the factories. For the betterment of the workers, he insisted on

Indianization of the Companies for which he argued with the authorities for its implementation.

It is infact, interestingly revealed from the letter written by Subhas Chandra Bose dated 12th November, 1928 to the Chairman of the Tata Steel insisting the management to Indianize the country. I must recognise Mr. H. Raghunath, Manager, Tata Steel Archives, the Tata Iron and Steel Co.Ltd. Russi Mody centre for excellence, Jamshedpur who was kind enough to supply me the xerox copy of the "priceless" document which insisted me to present the full text of this document for the benefit of the scholarly world. It is now a question of further historical research to ascertain about the Indianization by Subhas Bose. The important letter has been reproduced below. The original letter has also been given in the appendix.

THE LABOUR ASSOCIATION, JAMSHEDPUR

Ref No..............

JAMSHEDPUR

Dated 12.11.1928

My dear Sa..'atvala,

I am thankful to you for your kind letter of 3rd November. I shall reply to it shortly at length. In the meantime, I should like to bring to your notice one or two points of importance.

You are aware that one of the important problems before the company is that of Indianization. On this question public opinion in India is very keen. Tatas made a very good beginning several years back and this raised great hopes in the minds of the public. Unfortunately, for reasons which I need not enter into here,

during the last few years there has been a sliding back. This has antagonised all sections of Indian Labour. I think, I told the Directors in September once that if there had been no invidious distinction between the covenanted hands and Indian employees- even under the present conditions there would have been less discontent than there is today.

Every reasonable employee in Jamshedpur realises that as long as the covenanted hands are here, they can not easily be got rid of till the contracts expire. But every reasonable man will be satisfied if no fresh contract is entered in to, when the old contract expires. If we can show in the future that no renewal of contract is taking place as the old contracts expire, we shall be able to satisfy Indian labour. The other day i heard that the contract of the Chief Store Keeper (Mr. Skull throp?) was going to be renewed after expiry and I wrote to Mr. Alexander about it and subsequently spoke to him. I said that if the contract was not renewed, the news would soon be broad casted and it would give rise to general satisfaction. People would begin to feel that a new chapter in the history of the company had begun. Unfortunately, Mr. Alexander did not take my advice in good part and I did not, therefore, like to pursue the matter any further. Since then I have been informed that the contract of Mr. Fletcher, Asst. Superintendent of the Rolling mill (West Plant) is going to be renewed. I am not in a position to verify this report but shall be sorry if it is true.

I lam trying my best to straighten out things with the G.M. and the General Superintendent and on the whole we are getting on well. But there are matters in which we shall have to count on the Board's assistance and particularly on your assistance. Indianization is one of the questions. I hope the Board will scrutinize very carefully every case in which the old contracts are renewed.

I know that in this matter I am writing to you behind the back of the G.M. and I would not ordinarily like to do so. But I am doing so today because I feel very sincerely that the future of this industry - including peace in the labour world - depends largely on Indianization. This is a point which foreigners - however good they otherwise may be - cannot sufficiently appreciate. I have no doubt that if you go ahead with your policy of Indianization, you will be able to ingratiate yourself with your Indian employees, your country men as well as with public leaders of all shades of opinion.

You need not trouble about writing with your own hand. I am doing so, simply because I want this letter to be confidential.

I am replying to your letter of the 3rd shortly.

With best regards
I am
Yours sincerely
Subhas C. Bose.



SUBHAS CHNADRA BOSE AND ORISSA

Kailash Chandra Dash.

I

The eventful life and works of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose constitute a fascinating chapter in the history of India's struggle for independence. There are many important aspects on this *Indian Pilgrim.* But still there is an eagerness among the historians to delve deep into his life. Studies on Subhas mainly concentrate on his activities during the Gandhian phase of the Indian struggle for independence; there is still a dark room for research on his connection with Oriya identity. Although Orissa was the homeland of this great and fearless patriot no specific attention has been directed to present his connection with the Orissan problems and his boundless love for Orissa. Therefore in this paper the main thrust has been on his link with Orissa which helps us in the construction of Oriya identity.

II

Subhas Chandra Bose was a son of Janaki nath Bose who had migrated to Orissa in the eighties of the 19th century and had settled down at Cuttack as a lawyer. He was born on Saturday, the 23rd January, 1897. His father was descended from the Boses of Mahinagar and his mother, Prabhavati belonged to the family of the Dutts of Hatkhola. The house of Janakinath at Cuttack was a large L-shaped two-storey dwelling in the centre of town. It had several small quarters for the servants attached to the main building. In his early life Subhas had deep longing for Orissa. About his home town Cuttack he described in his autobiography;

Though a comparatively small town with a population in the neighbourhood of 20000, Cuttack had an importance of its own owing to a variety of factors. It had an unbroken tradition since the days of the early Hindu Kings of Kalinga. It was de facto capital of Orissa which could boast of such a famous place of pilgrimage as Puri and such glorious art-relics as those of Konark, Bhubaneswar and Udaigiri. It was the headquarters not only for the British administration in Orissa, but also for the numerous ruling chiefs in that province. Although Cuttack afforded a healthy environment for the growing child and it had some of the virtues of both city and country life.[1]

As recollected by Nirod Chandra Chaudhury in one of his papers Subhas had great love for the river Mahanadi on whose bridge in the winter season he could prepare his anti-English speech.[2]

Subhas went to school when he was a child of five years. He started his student career from a Missionary School which was meant primarily for European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls. In January 1909 Subhas joined the Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttak. About his school life Subhas rported;

Among the teachers and the students there were both Bengalees and Oriyas and the relations between them were quite cordial. One did not hear in those days-at least we students did not hear-of any ill-feeling or misunderstanding between the people of the two sister provinces. So far as the members of our family are concerned we could never think or feel in terms of narrow parochialism or provincialism. For that we have to thank our parents. My father had extensive contacts with the people of Orissa and intimate personal relations with many distinguished Oriya families. His outlook was consequently broad and his sympathies wide and they unconsciously influenced the rest of his

family. I cannot remember even to have heard from his lips one single disparaging remark about the people of Orissa-or for the matter of that about the people of any other province.[3]

Of the teachers there was one who left a permanent impression on his youthful mind in Orissa. He was the headmaster Beni Madhav Das. The very first day Subhas saw him taking his rounds - he felt an irresistible moral appeal in his personality. Up till then he had never experienced what it was to respect a man. For Subhas to see Beni Madhav was to adore him. The great memory persisted and in his advanced years he felt that Beni Madhava was not an ordinary man. Subhas remarked; *I secretly said to myself that if I wanted an ideal for my life it should be to emulate him.*[4]

The first political impetus Subhas received was in 1912 from a student of his age. He came to Cuttack and Puri on a tour and was introduced to him by the headmaster Beni Madhav Das. Before his arrival he was connected with a group in Calcutta which had as its ideal-spiritual uplift and national service along constructive lines. His visit to Cuttack came off at a time when the mind of Subhas was beginning to turn towards social and national problems. It was a psychologically opportune moment when at Cuttack Subhas became passionately interested about his duty to the country.

III

Subhas Chandra Bose became attracted to Orissa problems in the twenties of the 20th century. This phase in Orissa was marked by a great awakening for the assertion of Oriya identity. A significant part of that articulation was the widespread organisation in Calcutta which was called *Prabasi Oriya Sabha*.

The enthusiastic Oriyas wanted to unite all the Oriya workers in Calcutta as a part of presenting the distinct Oriya identity. Subhas had a very important role in the organisation of the Oriya labourers in Calcutta (*Prabasi Oriya Sramajibi Sangathana*).[5] On 15th August 1924 there was a meeting of the working committee of Oriya Labourers' Association (Calcutta) in the Calcutta house of Subhas. Gopabandhu Dash was the President of the meeting. Suresh Chandra Ghosh and many others were present in that meeting. Subhas was very careful about the problems of the Oriya labourers of Calcutta.[6] In the month of September there was another meeting in Harish Park which was presided over by Pandit Gopabandhu Dash and Subhas had attended it. According to the newspaper *Forward*;

Babu Subhas Chandra Bose spoke in Oriya amidst loud cheers and clappings. He expressed his appreciation of the activities of Pandit Gopabandhu Dash who as he said might be called the uncrowned king of Orissa. The Oriya Labour Union in his opinion was a necessity as it would prove beneficial to the labourers themselves and to their masters. He assured the audience of his full sympathy and support to the institution which he said was a movement of mainly social character. If the movement proceeded steadly, he would try to secure help for it from the Calcutta Corporation to establish night schools and to provide medical aid.

It gives us an unmistakable evidence of the connection of Subhas in the construction of Oriya identity in the twenties of the 20th century even if he was a Bengalee.

This interesting connection of Subhas with the Oriyas has at one time tempted him to declare that he was a son of Orissa. As Congress President in 1938 Subhas sent his greetings to *Utkal Political Conference* which can be quoted here;

I am sorry I cannot attend the coming session of the Utkal Conference *Being a son of Utkal my heart is always there. I hope, however that inspite of my unwilling absence the conference will be a great success. Great responsibility has now developed on Utkala and specially on the Congressmen of Utkal. Utkala has now a Congress ministry and it is necessary that the Congress Organisation in Utkala should be in a state of first class efficiency. For this purpose it is necessary to have unity among the ranks of Utkala Congressmen. I hope the Conference will help to restore this much desired unity and give a strong impetus to Congress work and organisation. I am looking forward to the day when I will be able to visit Orissa.*[8]

IV

The formation of the Forward Bloc by Subhas was not appreciated in Orissa. Within a week of his resignation as Congress President Subhas announced in Calcutta on May 3,1939 the formation of a new grouping within the Congress which was called the Forward Bloc. Subhas said that the object was to rally all radical and anti-imperialist progressive elements in the country on the basis of a minimum programme representing the greatest common measure of agreement among radicals of all shades of opinion . When he moved to make the Forward Bloc Bose hoped that all radicals presumably meaning Socialists, Communists Royists, Kisan Sabhaists and others would join in this bloc. Some of the left elements were agreeable to joint activities and actions, but Bose was not able to gain members for the Forward Bloc except from among his close associates and those who believed that he stood for the right path of action.[9] In Orissa this step of Subhas was not appreciated by many leaders. Commenting on

his activities the editor of *Utkal Dipika* (well-known Oriya monthly) reported;

The clear objectives and the programmes of this Bloc of Subhas have so long not been presented before the people of India. He also did not like to answer the questions on the objectives and programmes. But everywhere he could criticize the Gandhian leadership. In his speeches one would only find out high sounding phrases. He was responsible for indiscipline and discontent in Congress circle.[10]

When Subhas visited Cuttack in August to preside over the All-Orissa Youths' Conference H.K.Mahatab, a member of the Congress Working Committee and Biswanath Das, Premier of Orissa asked him to give up his rebelling against the Congress for they believed it was disruptive to the nationalist movement. [11] These dissident voices did not slow Subhas down. In the afternoon of 5th August 1939 he addressed a meeting of the students in the Ravenshaw College and in the evening presided over the first sitting of the "Youth Conference" held at Municipal maidan.[12] In the next day welcome addresses were presented to him on behalf of the Cuttack Municipality, the All Utkal Students' Federation, the students of the Ravenshaw Collegiate School and the *Nabayuga Sahitya Sansad.*[13] He expounded the principles of his Forward Bloc.

The connection of Subhas Chandra Bose with Orissa was helpful to the Oriyas in the twenties despite protest from some corners about his formation of the Forward Bloc. His love and admiration for Orissa and the Oriyas would always remain a lasting chapter in the history of Banga-Utkala Cultural harmony.

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NETAJI, I.N.A. AND THE ORIYAS

Prasanna Kumar Mishra

(This article is based on original archival documents only, as available in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar)

I

Subhas Chandra Bose during his visit to Orissa in August 1939 delivered a few speeches to the people of Orissa. He observed that the economic condition of India began to get worse and the country drew the attention of the World for her poverty and employment. This condition could be improved if Swaraj was achieved. Swaraj was a dream when the Congress had been started but later on independence of the country was in view. Every Indian expected to be free. The weapons to be used for the achievement of Swaraj were non-violent non-cooperation and *Satyagraha*. In order to achieve complete independence the youths should not hesitate even when they were required to sacrifice their souls at the time of need to set the country free. The people of the country had been prepared to fight for their independence in the years 1921, 1930 and 1936, but he was astonished to see the present condition of the youths. He was of opinion that the youths were rather more advanced and were prepared to face all the difficulties that would come into their way to fight for the cause of the country, and hence, advised the youths to join the 'Forward Bloc' created by him. It was with the younger generation to follow the policy and programme of the 'Bloc' and look towards its success.[1]

Subhas Chandra Bose insisted on raising Volunteer Corps who would be ready to stand against the British

forces in a non-violent way. Without a volunteer corps it was impossible to carry on a fight or achieve Swaraj. These volunteers should be ready to sacrifice their lives for the country. In his opinion it was the best time for the Indians to fight for their independence as the British Government had become weaker which was evident from a study of the political situation in the West and the Far East. The old imperialism was being replaced by a new imperialism such as Fascism. He felt, if a concerted action was taken then soon, the British Government were bound to give way as they were anxious for the independence of their own land. Germany was threatening to take away their independence. Subhas Bose observed that the British Government were in power as long as Army and Navy were the important weapons. A third power had emerged. It was the Air Force. England and France had no powerful Air Force and that was why they were afraid of Germany, Italy and Russia. All these indicated that a struggle at this opportune moment should be effective, and for that purpose a fighting spirit had to be infused among the countrymen plunging in another Satyagraha.[2]

II

During the Second World War various attempts were made by the Axis Powers to win over the Indians - the Prisoners of War and others - to fight against the Allies. In 1941 the Italians commenced their attempts to subborn Indian troops captured in North Africa. They used a mixture of threat and inducement in form of offers of better living conditions. The few who responded were taken to a camp outside Rome, where in the beginning of 1942, the Italians formed a unit known as the "Centro Militare, India." This unit's maximum strength was 400. It was given military training, but was ineffective and mutinied as soon as the

Italians proposed to send the Unit to fight in Africa. It was therefore disbanded in November 1942. Some of its men were reverted to the status of Prisoner of War, some were sent to Germany to join the Indian Legion. There was a small number of Indian civilians in the "Centro Militare, India."[3]

Similarly the Germans planned to subvert and use Indian Prisoners of War early in 1941. Promises made were kept and threats translated into action. The great majority remained loyal to the oaths they had taken. Those who did not were formed into what was at first called the "Free Indian Legion." This unit was stationed in Germany while under training . Towards the end a few Indians were made junior N.C.Os. Early in 1943 it was incorporated into the Wehrmacht as the 950 Regiment of the Germany Army Proper. When the Germans had withdrawn the 950 Regiment across the Rhine it was theoretically absorbed into the Waffen SS. There was no time however to put these orders into effect. The Regiment took no further part in the fighting, being completely demoralised by circumstances and at the time of the final collapse of Germany it was idle in a camp many miles behind the front line, and in a very poor conditions generally.[4]

The Japanese set to work without delay to subvert the loyalty of the Indian troops captured on the surrender of Singapore. They began their troops indeed while the Malayan campaign was still in progress, materially aided by the early defection of two Indian Commissioned Officers and by general demoralization attending temporary defeat. One of the two officers, Captain Mohan Singh of 1/14 Punjab Regiment, was chosen by the Japanese as Commander of the Force they called the "Indian National Army." The birth of this body was announced by the Japanese at a Parade of all Indian P.W. in Singapore two days after the surrender and immediate action was taken by

Mohan. Singh to obtain men for this force. After hesitation, some of the Indian Officer-prisoners of War joined him, greatly influenced by considerations of personal comfort and ambition. In some cases officers and men were actuated by a desire to escape. The conduct of their officers had effect on a number of troops, while communal feelings also played their part. Volunteers, however, were not forthcoming in the numbers required and in order to increase his following Mohan Singh resorted to propaganda and intimidation. These methods swelled the numbers during 1942. In December 1942, however, Mohan Singh was displaced owing to differences of opinion with the Council of Action of the India Independence League under the Presidency of Rash Behari Bose and the organisation was disbanded.[5]

The Japanese, after a few months of consideration, decided to form another army. On the advice of some of their leading Indian collaborators this force was to be recruited on more truly voluntary basis, though the element of intimidation was not lacking, since it was made plain that those who did not volunteer would be shipped to the South West Pacific for labour in conditions bordering on slavery. Despite this threat, a large proportion of those who had ostensibly 'volunteered' for the first I.N.A. refused to rejoin and many were in fact despatched as labour to various parts of South East Asia. These fresh efforts to reform resulted in some 15,000 - 17,000 Indian P.W., out of approximately 57,000, going over to the Axis during 1943. Training on normal military lines was again started, with Japanese Officers supervising in a "Liaison" capacity. At the sametime the India Civilian Community in Japanese occupied territories was tapped for further recruits. Both propaganda and the impact of economic difficulties were utilized in this recruiting drive. The Japanese inspired "India Independence League", membership of which alone afforded comparative security of livelihood and immunity from the attentions

of the Japanese Police, was the means by which this leverage was applied. Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore in July 1943 and took over control of the entire Japanese-inspired movement in territories under control. New impetus resulted and recruitment of something over 20,000 Indian civilians had taken place by the beginning of 1945.[6]

The forces thus recruited were first actively employed in the spring of 1944, when elements of one "division" were disposed on the Burma Front, in Arakan and on the Chindwin. The Japanese mistrust of their quality and reliability was demonstrated by their refusal to allow them to operate in Independent Units, let alone to make them responsible for a sector of their own. Small Parties were sometimes used during this operation as a harassing screen in advance of Japanese troops. Their duty was to attempt to infiltrate behind British forward positions and create confusion. A small number did so, of whom most were captured or surrendered. On a few occasions, mixed I.N.A. and Japanese parties were engaged by British and Indian troops. A little later, with the Japanese offensive across the Chindwin, the bulk of this same "division" came to notice in much the same role. Throughout the Manipur campaign, these forces only operated in an independent role once. This was at Palel, where they made an abortive-disastrous for them - attempt to capture a landing strip.[7]

When the final withdrawal of the Japanese followed their unsuccessful offensive in the summer of 1944, they took their Indian collaborators with them. Several hundreds, however, deserted and were taken over by the British troops. The Japanese withdrew the remainder of this "division" to Pegu in bad shape, for recuperation and reorganization. During the winter of 1944-45 little contact was made with the British troops in the field, although a small number of miscellaneous units was employed by the Axis

Powers in forward areas. Early in 1945 when the Allied drive-down Burma was well in its stride, and the Japanese retreat began to take on the appearance of a general rout, desertions started again, on a fairly largescale and continued until the capture of Rangoon in April, where between 7,000 and 8,000 troops of the body called the "Indian National Army", including a large number of its officers, surrendered to the Allies on the orders of Subhas Chandra Bose. With the final surrender of the Japanese in August 1945, the remainder in South East Asia came into Allied hands. The majority of the military personnel had already returned to India, while the civilians were dispersed to their homes, or were held up temporarily on security grounds. [8]

Like the German and Italian attempts, Japanese efforts to make an effective fighting force out of Indian Prisoners of war and the Indian civilian community in South East Asia were in general a failure. However, the number of Indians who were seduced or who were coerced by the Axis, were approximately as follows:[9]

"Europe ... 'Centro Militare, India' ---- 400, of whom all except 7 were P.W. (A percentage were later absorbed into the "Indian Legion.")

"Indian Legion" 2500 - 3000 (950 Regiment) - Almost no civilian

Asia - "Indian National Army" - 43,000 (Of whom some 20,000 were P.W.)

The Indian National Army in East Asia as its name implies, was a military body, organised, trained, equipped and to some extent used as a fighting army. It was called the Jif. It existed since the earliest days of the Japanese conquest of Hong Kong, Malaya and Burma. Its development and efficiency had at

times been disturbed by internal discord, the lukewarm attitude of individual members, and distrust of the Japanese. On the otherhand, on occasions the I.N.A. fought well and the Japanese found it useful in Burma. Its failure was partly due to the fault of the Japanese themselves. Membership of this 'army' made a deep impression on almost all who joined it, whether they were Prisoners of war or ordinary civilians. They were fundamentally affected by the personality of their leader, Subhas Bose, who possessed their ungrudging trust, respect, admiration and loyalty, and by this continuous propaganda concerning their mission to liberate India under his command. Some of the INA's higher officers had also great influence on their men. It is abundantly clear that even those INA members whose low morale led to voluntary surrender, or who realised that they had backed the wrong horse, and whose suspicions on Japan had been crystalised by events, in many cases still preserved intact their belief in Bose's integrity and ideals. They considered that he had a good try and had by no means altogether failed, for he did at least gain fair treatment and even a measure of respect from the Japanese for the Indian community throughout East Asia. They said with reasons that Indians, though a minority, suffered less than any other community from the Japanese and that this was entirely due to Subhas Chandra Bose. Almost all the I.N.A. were anti-Japanese but they were proud of the I.N.A. itself as it was India's first National Army. They were also proud of Bose's Provisional Government "which had been recognised by nine Great Powers - India was at last a State in her own right." The I.N.A. men were further proud of their own effort to free India. They expected Subhas Chandra Bose to try again some how, some day, and they would be behind him in the attempt.[10]

The 'Jif' Intelligence Corps - a convenient term for the many hundreds of Indians, both soldiers and civilians in East Asia

who had been trained in various intelligence functions by the Japanese and assistants of Subhas Chandra Bose. They were, "if anything, even more affected as a class by the training they had undergone in sabotage, espionage and propaganda; by the concentrated propaganda to which they themselves were continually subjected; by the feeling that they were volunteers to a corps d'elite specially selected to help in India's liberation by individual underground tasks, involving great personal danger, and the more intimate contact they had with Bose's chosen lieutenants, often men with pre-war revolutionary histories." A great many of these intelligence agents were of poor courage, weak moral fibre and low mental calibre. A fair percentage, however, were to be reckoned with as constituting a potential security danger as long as the British regime continued in India. They were the type that might well be readily recruited into the existing revolutionary parties, to whom their determination and acquired knowledge of explosives etc. might prove useful. It was also possible that a few of them might be prepared to go working for the Japanese to the best of their ability, however dark the hour for Japan.[11]

The Indian Independence League - the "Party", was on the best Fascist model. This civil organisation served Subhas Chandra Bose as a medium through which to exercise discipline and control over the hundreds of thousands of Indians in East Asia, to distribute his propaganda, to collect the funds which the Japanese would not provide, and to recruit the men he needed for his army, intelligence corps and other enterprises. Practically all Indian civilians in Japanese-controlled territory were ordinary members of the I.I.L. and they had little choice. Most of them were likely to have been infected, though in lesser degree, with the same confidence in Bose and pride in his achievements as had been noted on the part of the I.N.A. They were more specifically, probably pro-Bose and still influenced by what they had witnessed

of his work. It turned out that they had backed the wrong horse, but they would probably behave just the same again in similar circumstances.[12]

III

About 1000 men of the Azad Hind Fouz were kept in the Central Jail of Rangoon as prisoners. Of them 55 were Oriyas. Some prisoners were brought to India but it was uncertain when all would be brought in. Even they were in many ways tortured. Even cloths were not given to them in the jail. However, gradually, the civilian I.N.A. men returned from Burma. As there were shipping difficulties, so in the first batch 500 men reached Bombay. the remaining batch returned on 14th April, 1946 from Rangoon and they were expected to reach Calcutta on 19th April. In this batch were seventythree persons of Orissa. From a statistics it was known that by January 1947, there were a total of 291 INA men comprising 251 civilian and 40 military. The further details are as follows:[13]

	Blacks	Greys	Whites	Unclassified	Total
1.Civilian	20	157	12	62	= 251
2.Military	09	29	02		= 40
				Grand Total	= 291

The I.N.A. problem was essentially an all India problem. The government of India issued restitution orders valid for two months in case of the I.N.A. men. Thereafter those men were to remain under Provincial Government's restitution order, if necessary. But on the suggestion of the I.G. Police, Orissa, the Government of India were informed that these men would be detained for further interrogation before being sent to their villages

to live there under restitution and were asked not to serve these orders on them. The so called I.N.A. men in Orissa were actually civilians in Burma working as day-labourers, mostly from the district of Ganjam, a few from Puri and the Princely States . These people under abnormal circumstances were recruited to the I.N.A. After being discharged they were roaming about unemployed in Orissa. It is not known why they should be excluded from any employment either under the Government or under the local bodies. Of course, those who were originally in the Indian Army and subsequently joined the I.N.A. and were termed 'Black" by the Army Authorities were not entitled to any employment either under the Government or under the local bodies, but those who had nothing to do with any of the Government service and were mere civilians, should not be marked out because of their past conduct, for exclusion from employment.[14]

The following civilian 'Greys' were received in Orissa:

Nakul Swain,
Radhakrishna Sahu,
Bauri Pradhan,
Gangadhar Naik,
Punia Barhai,
Lobani Rout,
Bhabani Naik,
Harikheto Pardharam,
Ananda Sethi,
Dinabandhu Sethi,
Gopinath Pardhan,
Ramulu,
Gobinda Dakua,
Balaji,
Arjuna Behera.

All of them belonged to the district of Ganjam. Besides,

Benudhar Naik, Sanatan, Damodar Gour, Bhikari Behera and Nahar Singh of Puri were also received in Orissa. Also there were 25 civilian 'Blacks' who were at the initial stage received in Orissa. They were:

Vakalagoda Venkata Krishna Naidu
Khetra Sahu
Dambaru Naik
Raghunath Swain
Bansidhar
Dandapani Panigrahi
Murali
Abdul Wahad
Arjun Das
Gobind Padhi
Haribandhu Karan
Ram Sahu
Harichand
Udaynath Maharana
Bighnaraj Sarangi
Arjhuna Gauda
Kulamani Raut
Bhikari Behera
Kapil Chandra Sundara
Lokanath Mohanty
Bina Naik
Durjo Pradhan
Mahadev Naik

They all belonged to the province of Orissa. In addition, the following five were civilian Blacks belonging to the Princely States of Nayagarh and Ranpur:

Raibani Naik

Harkatah Padhan
Narasingh Naik
Duryodhan Mohanty
Bhima Das

Moreover, most interestingly, Dr. Bidhubhusan Ray, Dr. Gopal Prasad Mishra and Dr. Brajamohan Pattnayak who were in I.N.A. under Subhas Chandra Bose, sought employment in Orissa. The Orissa I.N.A. Relief Enquiry Committee whose head office was established at 82 Daryaganj, Delhi, had the following office bearers in Orissa:

H.K. Mahtab, Premier of Orissa	- President
Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Minister of Revenue,Orissa	- Vice-President
Lt. Col. B.M. Pattnayak	- General Secretary
Bibhudendra Mishra	- Joint Secretary
Motilal Pandit (he became the Chairman of the local I.N.A. Relief Committee)	- Treasurer.

Laxmi Narayan Sahoo, M.L.A. also made an assembly question for the resettlement and rehabilitation of Ex-I.N.A. men from Orissa. The Government of Orissa, thus observed : "That only ex-I.N.A. men who were originally in the regular army are treated as ex-servicemen. There are very few of this class in Orissa. Hence the bulk of I.N.A. men were own recruits direct to I.N.A. Therefore the question of their being treated as ex-servicemen does not arise, but they have not been declared ineligible for any of the services under Government."[15]

When these I.NA. men were interrogated they revealed many interesting things from their experiences especially on Subhas Chandra Bose. Most of them were illiterate but were

deeply moved by the I.N.A. spirit to free India, influenced by the propaganda lectures of Subhas Chandra Bose. One Arjuna Das, an I.N.A. man, thus narrated his experience :

In July 1943 S.C.Bose addressing the Indian civilians said, "I have to tell you my main object and that is to liberate your country from the claws of the British there is only one way of achieving this object. I am going to strengthen the I.N.A. and more volunteers are requested to join it as soon as possible."[16]

Arjuna Das influenced by the lecture of Subhas Chandra Bose willingly volunteered himself for the I.N.A. and took training under captain Balwant Singh. Another person Gobinda Padhi joined I.N.A. under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose who had come to Singapore to deliver lectures. He was popularly called there as Netaji. Gobinda Padhi promised to fight if Netaji commanded the I.N.A According to Padhi Netaji was a supreme human being and he was not dead, he believed. The British could do no harm to Netaji. He further said;

"As an I.N.A. I was drawing no pay as there was no pay system. We were getting about Rs.35/-per month as pocket expenses. While under training we were giving rifles said to have been seized by the I.N.A. from different Jap occupied places and Khaki Uniforms and badges of I.NA."[17]

Haribandhu Karan, an intelligent youth was moved by the lectures of Subhas Chandra Bose and the activities of the I.N.A. Another person Kulamani Rout narrated thus his experience on Subhas Chandra Bose when the latter arrived at Tamu,

"News was received that S.C.Bose had arrived at the front, and was visiting Kalanyo. The news was received at Tamu with great rejoicing and thousands of rounds of ammunition were expended to celebrate the occasion. About a week later,

preparations were made at Tamu to welcome S.C. Bose."[18] According to the version of Kulamani Rout the arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose at Tamu was sometimes in the middle of June 1944. The description of this arrival was thus narrated :

"About 500 yards of steel plates or meshing, to a width of about 30 yards, were laid down in the Tamu air-strip. The plates or meshing were taken up immediately after Bose had left Tamu, and were removed by a fleet of trucks. About 500 I.N.A. and civilians were assembled at the air-strip when Bose's air-craft touched down. Bose arrived in a large two-engineed (Japanese plane, and was accompanied by Harendra Pal) and by six other Indians, one of them was a Bengali youth born of a Burmese mother, aged about 30, tall and of thin build, with a very fair complexion and appeared to be a man of culture and refinement. S.C. Bose landed at about 10.00 hours, and left by the same plane at 17.00 hours the same day."[19] "He delivered lectures in English and Hindusthani in which he discussed the war situation at length, said that the British defence in Manipur area were very strong and that further progress by the I.N.A. was not at present possible. He urged his audience not to get disheartened, but to fall back in an ordinary manner. He stressed the fact that prolongation of the war would assist the I.N.A. towards its final victory, as it would give time for further thorough preparations. Bose concluded his speech by asking all men who were willing to infiltrate into India to raise their hands. About 30 men raised their hands of whom about 18 were men of Azad Regiment and the other 12 were civilians. The 30 volunteers were then separated from the others, handed over to a Japanese Captain personally by Bose, and were taken to a camp a short distance from Tamu. When Bose left Tamu, he was accompanied by those who left at Tamu to supervise the despatch of the 30 infiltrators."[20]

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THE FORWARD BLOC: A HISTORICAL NECESSITY

Avaya Kumar Behera

While delivering the Presidential address in the All India Forward Bloc Conference at Nagapur, Subhas Chandra Bose emphatically reiterated his stand on the formation of the Forward Bloc as follows:

"..... I should like to remind you of the historical role of the Forward Bloc. The Bloc has come into being as a result of historical necessity. It is not the creation of an individual or of a group of individuals. So long as it will serve a historical purpose, it will live and thrive - despite all obstacles, internal or external."[1]

Certain pertinent questions come up as corollary to the above statement. Was the formation of the Forward Bloc an inevitable need of the time? What sort of historical necessity urged the formation of the Forward Bloc? Finally, did it succeed to achieve the basic objective for which it was formed?

In search of the answers, one has to analyse the genesis of the Forward Bloc. Very often direct criticism was launched against the Forward Bloc being the outcome of the personal rift between Mahatma and Netaji over the presidential election of Congress in 1939. Everytime Netaji responded with a categorical denial. Gandhiji's stauning statement regarding the electoral defeat of Pattabhi - 'the defeat is more mine than him' - and resignation of Subhas from the Congress Presidentship were not the initiation for the formation of the Forward Bloc. Rather it was simply one more step closer to the idea of launching a new party. Precisely the resignation was the culmination of Netaji's endeavour to prepare a new platform for the freedom struggle.

Subhas had the cherished vision of organizing a new party in India, the party of resistance and of reconstruction. The new party would have the dynamism to lead the country in resisting the British Imperialism in the freedom struggle and to undertake the responsibility of socio-economic and political reconstruction thereafter.[2] This speaks of his plan in mind not only to fight for independence but also to take up the challenge of reconstruction with greater vigour after independence.

His entry into Congress fold and adherence to the principles of non-cooperation and non-violence had some reservation as Deshabandhu C.R. Das had. Naturally he was not the Congressite to follow Gandhiji blindly though he had highest regard for the former at personal level. His first impression about Gandhi was distressing.[3] He wrote, "But though I tried to persuade myself at the time that there must have been a lack of understanding on my part, my reason told me clearly, again and again, that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which the Mahatma had formulated and that he himself did not have a clear idea of the cherished stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom."[4]

Grant of 'Swaraj' by a great colonial and imperial power like Great Britain without any 'consistent anti-imperialist movement simply baffled his understanding'. For this reason Gandhian promise of 'Swaraj' within one year seemed unwise and childish to him. His socialistic and revolutionary attitude always searched for greater dynamism in Congress and sometimes for direct active resistance instead of the Congress tradition of indirect passive resistance. Very often he considered such action of Congress as inaction against the British Imperialism. On the other hand, he was never against the Congress, rather he was pained by the sterile leadership which lacked bite and venom. Eversince the

issue of joint manifesto from Vienna in May 1993 and the Third Indian Political Conference at Friar's Hall, London on 10 June 1933, he was in search of this new platform. The above manifesto issued on 9 May 1933 by Subhas Chandra Bose and V.J. Patel stated, "As a political leader Mahatma Gandhi has failed. The time has therefore come for a radical reorganization of the Congress on a new principle and with a new method. For bringing about this reorganization a change of leadership is necessary .... If the Congress, as a whole, can undergo this transformation, it would be the best course. Failing that a new party will have to be formed within the Congress, composed of all radical elements. Non-cooperation cannot be given up but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one and the fight for freedom to be waged on all fronts".[5] Here his intention regarding leadership, formation of new party and nature as well as method of struggle are crystal clear.

Though he was prohibited to preside over the All Parties London Conference of Indians, through the written speech, he presented the proposal of a *Samyavada Sangha*, the basic concept of the new party.[6] He pleaded for active hostility to the Government either with arms or through an effective economic blockade. The economic blockade was impossible for the communication system being under the Government control and Congress's pledge to non-violence and passive resistance would not sanction any sort of armed hostility. Therefore, the leadership of determined men and women, prepared for sufferings and sacrifices, was the need of the hour to groom the country for 'Swaraj'.[7] Thus, it is unfare to trace the origin of a new party from the Congress Presidential election of 1939.

In the home front radical leaders of Congress like Subhas Chandra Bose, M.N.Roy and Jawaharlal Nehru attracted one

another in the Karachi session of Congress. Since then the socialist elements of the Congress became active and the Congress adopted economic and social objectives. Even socio-economic programme of the Congress was given priority.[8] Certain political developments like the formation of the Congress Socialist Party and the Radical League and the joining of the National Front in the Congress increased numerical strength and influence of the Leftists. The Congress Socialist Party dominated the Congress proceedings from 1934 onwards and would have emerged as a national party, an alternative to the Congress. But lack of clear revolutionary perspective and excessive theoritical propaganda of socialism of the future but not of national struggle and independence of immediate need limited its activity only to be a socialist group within the Congress. However, the Congress socialists contributed to a great extent for the awakening among the peasants, students, youths and workers.[9] That marked a positive symptom of the preparedness of the people to fight a grim battle for independence if dynamic leadership would be provided. Since 1937 the Leftists lost ground and grip over the Congress was loosened due, may be, to the line of action pursued by them.[10] The National Front (Communists) would have taken the place of a national alternative to the Congress but too much Soviet influence forced the party to adopt wrong policy in estimating Indian political situation and thus could not grow on Indian soil.

While searching for alternative leadership Subhas, not prepared to accept Marxism as a whole, differed from M.N. Roy ideologically. His concept of socialism was not doctrinaire one but pragmatic based on national considerations. Thus, Roy, practising a European political ideology, was not expected to provide the right kind of leadership India needed. It would have been left to Nehru who was a blind supporter of Gandhiji in spite of many

personal and ideological differences. Subhas was not hopeful to find the alternative leadership in him.

After the suspension of the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement in the thirties, the Congress was no more a cohesive organization. There were different groups of divergent ideologies and actions. The orthodox group, known as the Right Wing, was the official bloc led by Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad etc. The right wing had full faith in Gandhian non-violence and non-cooperation and was unwilling for any change in the Congress programme as well as policy even under the rapidly changing political scenario, both national and international. The Left Wing consisted of three well defined groups namely the Congress Socialists, the Ultra Leftists, and the Royists, each having its own ideology and action plan different from the other in many ways. In between the two, a large number of unorganized radical anti-imperialist elements were in afloat. Ironically neither they could cooperate with the official block nor could join any of the existing Leftist groups or parties for the reasons of their own. "It appeared to me (Subhas) that until and unless these radical anti-imperialists elements were organized on a definite platform, the Leftist movement was not likely to gather further accession of strength to an appreciable degree".[11] Thus, Subhas felt the urge of consolidating a Left Bloc within the Congress consisting of Left Parties and unorganized radical anti-imperialist and progressive elements in the Congress, whether they be socialists or not, on the basis of minimum programme.12 By this the radical forces, which, uptill now, were not resisting the British Imperialism with full vigour and vitality either under the Right Wing or under the Left Parties, would be properly canalized into the mainstream of the freedom struggle. Thus, his valiant effort for left-consolidation had cherished this noble objective of united and direct resistance to British Imperialism.

In the meantime the political difference between Gandhiji and Netaji widened to an unbridgable extent. Gandhiji was very much apprehensive of the emergence of Left Wing and its growing influence in Congress. By September 1938, he was extremely rigid not to have a 'compromise with the Leftists in conducting the affairs of the Congress".[13] In order to curb the Leftist influence, Gandhiji opposed the election of Subhas in 1939 considering the second term presidentiship as an opportunity 'to reorganize Congress on lines adumbracted by him from Vienna'.[14] The publication of "The Indian Struggle, 1920-1934" by Subhas in 1935 became an unpleasant reading for Gandhiji and his followers. Even Subhas was considered as a serious challenge to Gandhian leadership in many quarters.[15] Both the British Government and the Right Wing very much suspected him for secret activities with Germany.

Therefore, Mahatma Gandhi, since 1938, consistently urged that a national struggle was out of the question in the near future as the country was not prepared for a 'Satyagraha'. But for Subhas, the country was internally more ripe for a revolution than ever before and the coming international crisis (Second World War) would give India an opportunity for achieving her emancipation. Waging the struggle at that moment against the British Government was 'immoral' for Gandhiji and 'ungenerous' for Nehru.[16] On 20.5.1940 Gandhiji declared, "We do not seek our independence out of Britian's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence". His ardent disciple Nehru seconded equivocally, "Launching a civil disobedience campaign at a time when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honour." How much non-violent was Gandhiji on 15 September 1940 when he was forced to permit withdrawal of Congress cooperation from the Government? How did Nehru preserve 'India's honour' when he endorsed the Gandhian

proposal unhesitatingly to commence resistance to the British Government's war efforts through individual civil disobedience in October 1940 ? Perhaps cooperation with the British Government led them (Gandhiji and Nehru) to realise that the policy of cooperation with Britain would not find any support among the people and would lead to loss of popularity of Congress and its leadership.[17] Consequently both of them changed their approach under the existing political situation. If such a change was caused by changing political situation, one should be both polite and courageous enough to confess that the change was the effect of uncompromising and consistent struggle of Subhas against the British Imperialism.

Before the Presidential election of 1939,Subhas criticised the Congress attitude over the prospect of a compromise on the Federal Scheme of the Government of India Act, 1935 between the Right Wing and the British Government.[18] His intense propaganda in favour of National Planning Committee earned the displeasure of Gandhiji. He supported a comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state ownership and state-control in the Haripura Congress Session alongwith radical reforms of land system, abolition of land lordism, eradication of poverty.[19] This ideological cleavage between the two led for an uncompromising and unpleasant conclusion.

In spite of all efforts, electoral victory of Subhas created certain unpleasant reactions in Gandhiji. Apart from his personal defeat he remarked after election on 31 January 1939,"Out of the present condition of the Congress, I see nothing but anarchy and red ruin in front of the country." Final breach with the Right Wing came at the Tripuri Congress Session on 10 March 1939 when Subhas addressed the Congress as well as the nation, "There is no doubt that as the result of the recent international development

in Europe as well as in Asia, British and French imperialism have received a considerable set back in the matter of strength and prestige... The time has come for us to raise the issue of "Swaraj" and submit our national demand to the Britsh Government in the form of an ultimatum". Suhas proposed the Indian National Congress to send an ultimatum immediately to the Britsh Government demanding independence within six months and to go for simultaneous preparation for nation wide 'Satyagraha'. His theory of "Britain's difficulty is India's opportunity" was strongly opposed by Gandhiji and the Right Wing including Nehru who was very much known for his socialist and revolutionary speeches. The result was a complete deadlock within the Congress. Either the Right Wing should give up its obstructionist policy or the President should submit to them. Finding no other alternative the President resigned on 29 April 1939 as he did not 'agree to be a puppet president'.

In the AICC, Delhi Session of September 1938, a draft manifesto for the new platform was prepared by the Ultra Leftist leader and was amended by the Congress Socialist Party leader. Later the Congress Socialists changed their opinion and put themselves against the idea of forming a Left Bloc. After the Presidential election in January 1939, an informal gathering of the Radicals and the Leftist Congressmen discussed the issue in February first week. The formation of a Left Bloc was discouraged by some prominent socialist leaders that closed all possibility to organize the Leftist Parties. So also the National Front and the Royists deserted the Left Bloc apprehending loss of their identify. Subhas was left in isolation and the formation of the new party was only way in hand. If Subhas would have been successful in his effort of the Left-Consolidation, the Forward Bloc might not have been formed. In the meeting at Tripuri in March 1939 proposals to find a new name to substitute the Left Bloc and formulation and

provisional adoption of a draft programme were the preparatory activities in this line. Subhas had the initial intention to remain outside the proposed Bloc in order to maintain goodwill and cordiality with the Right Wing. But his resignation changed the situation and 'a Bloc within the Congress for allying all radical anti-imperialist and progressive elements on the basis of a minimum programme' was formed without any delay to 'represent the greatest common measure of agreement among radicals of all shades of opinion'. Thus, the new name the Forward Bloc was adopted in place of the Left Bloc with Subhas as the President and Sardar Sardul Singh Cavesheer as the Vice-President.

Initially the Forward Bloc did not have the objective to be a party as ordinarily understood but a platform for uniting all those who would accept its programme. Besides the unorganized radical elements in the Congress, members of the existing Leftist Parties were free to join the Bloc. Left-Cons lidation was expected to be a stepping stone towards real national unity, which would be the unity of action and not unity of inaction. Subhas was firm on his logic that without Left-Consolidation real national unity was impracticable. The Forward Bloc aimed to be an integral part of the Congress, and to adopt its constitution, its creed, policy and programme. It would cherish highest respect and regard for Mahatma Gandhi's personality and would have complete faith in his political doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation. Simultaneously, the Forward Bloc would not necessarily have confidence in the present leadership of the Congress.[20]

Undertaking a countrywide lecture tour was in accordance with his political theory as a prelude to the war of India's liberation. Addressing thousands of public meetings from May 1939 was the part of vigorous offensive propaganda programme to prepare the country for an anti-imperialist struggle within India so as to take

advantage of the impending Second World War.[21] Preparatory works were taken up in different provinces. On his visit to Orissa in the first week of August, 1939, Subhas was extended hearty welcome by the students and youth who expressed highest love and regard by conferring the title 'Rastra Gourab' on him. The people expressed full confidence on his leadership and resolved to non-cooperate the British Government in any imperialistic work, urged the AICC to identify with the States' people, decided to form the Volunteer Corps and formed a Youth League on a permanent basis with Jadumani Mangaraj as its president.[22] The British Government was taken aback by the hurricane tour and permission of the Government for lecture tour was also a great surprise. Honestly speaking, the British Government was afraid of that if drastic measures were taken against the Forward Bloc, it might provoke the Congress and the public in general to launch a campaign of passive resistance.[23]

Everytime he tried his best to dispel the clouds of misunderstanding regarding the formation of the Forward Bloc. He bluntly denied the criticism against the formation, "Neither personal factors nor accidental circumstances can account for this new phenomenon in Indian politics. The Forward Bloc has appeared because the Congress must enter on a new phase in its evolutionary process".[24] It was because of the undue as well as excessive press publicity about Gandhi-Subhas rift. Mostly the contemporary press were managed by the Congressites of pro-Gandhi tone that gave the lopsided publicity to the ideological difference as the personal conflict. This was certainly grave injustice to Subhas and his political creed. In response, he published a weekly 'The Forward Bloc' in August 1939 as the mouthpiece of the party. Through its columns he ventilated his thought to the mass and fiercely attacked imprudent official policy of the Congress.[25] He wrote, "To accuse the Forward Bloc of

opportunism is amusing indeed. A member of the Bloc has to fight on two fronts-British Imperialism and Congress Bureaucratism - and has to suffer persecution at the hands of both".[26] In order to justify his work, he presented two early objectives behind the formation of the Forward Bloc that in the event of conflict with the Gandhi Wing he would be able to fight more effectively with a hope to win the entire Congress over to his point of view; that in case of the failure to win, he could act of his own in any major crisis.

These developments had the root more in the mode of practising the ideology rather than the ideology itself.[27] Subhas launched frontal attack on the Gandhian version of unpreparedness of the country for 'Satyagraha' in 1939. To the questions of Lokanath Mishra *alias* Panka Mishra on his visit to Orissa, Subhas replied, "If the country is not prepared, it can be prepared within a very short time. Those who say that the country is not prepared, themselves are not prepared".[28] Unpreparedness was mere a plea to cover up the lack of self-confidence among the leaders. Further, he called those leaders to make room for others having the spirit to prepare and lead the country. He attributed such weakness to the conversion of some Congress leaders to constitutionalists who believed in the attainment of 'Swaraj' through constitutionalism and reforms.[29] In 1919 the Congress which rejected constitutionalism and took up non-violent non-cooperation as weapon in the struggle for 'Swaraj', had lost its revolutionary spirit. He reiterated that preparedness of the people could be tested once the 'Satyagraha' was launched and greatness of the leader was sensing the appropriate time for fight as did Gandhiji in 1930. But Gandhiji in 1939 was a cooperator and no more a 'Satyagrahi' who was afraid of mass movement under the plea of violence. Dynamism of his leadership had vanished with his old age as it happened with S.N.Banerjee.[30] Even he scathingly

criticised Gandhiji and the Congress High Command for wobbling and vacillation.31 His argument was that on 6 September 1939, Gandhiji met Viceroy Linlithgow and declared that in spite differences on the question of independence, India should cooperate with Britain in her hour of danger.[32] But on 29 October 1939 the Congress threatened for civil disobedience (passive resistance) as a reaction on the pronouncement of Viceroy's declaration on 17 October. This was followed by the order to the Congress Ministers to resign. Subsequent changes in the attitude of Gandhiji was very much inconsistent to his early war policy.[33]

To prepare the country for 'Satyagraha' he proposed a three fold scheme - organizing the masses, enrolment of Congress membership in large scale through massive propaganda and recruitment of Volunteer Corps or 'Satyagraha Army'.[34] He suggested to reorganize the Congress as the broadest anti-imperialist front bringing inside all those who were still out side such as the States' people and had not imbibed the national feeling. A countrywide propaganda could impress upon the ignorant Indians the meaning of "Swaraj" and upon the minority communities assuring them of safety under 'Swaraj' as against the British propaganda of insecurity. Raising a Volunteer Corps, ever ready to sacrifice their lives if needed, would be the primary necessity to stand against the British forces in a non-violent way without whom a fight would be impossible.[35] All these efforts would generate a fighting spirit among the countrymen to plunge into another 'Satyagraha'.

Though he was against the acceptance of ministry by Congress,[36] he proposed the congress to amend the mistake by availing the opportunity of the popular government once the office was accepted. He advised the Congress Ministers not to resign without a fight but to create such a constitutional crisis so that the

British Government would be forced to annul the Act of 1935. In case of launching a 'Satyagraha', the Central Government would issue ordinances against the movement and the Congress Ministers in eight provinces would not allow them to be introduced in their respective provinces. In such case, the Governors would dismiss the Ministries but the assemblies under the Congress would continue the struggle. The Governors would have only way in dissolving the assemblies which would automatically lead to annulment of the Act of 1935 by the British Government The Congress policy of wrecking the constitution would be a success.[37]

Though he criticised the leadership he was ever loyal to the Congress party. Even after his expulsion from the Congress he appealed the students and youth to strengthen the Congress.[38] To him, "Indian National Congress is the political organ of the Indian people and embodies their hopes, aspirations and ideals. It is an organization which has ultimate potentialities of growth and development."[39] He earnestly exhibited deep devotion to the Congress party than before and promised to serve the Congress and the country as a servant of the nation.[40]

Thus, any criticism against Subhas and the Forward Bloc to cause a split in the Congress seems a weak proposition. Nehru argued that the formation of the Forward Bloc would lead to a split within the Congress and would thereby weaken the national organization at a critical moment.[41] But Subhas was against such view because without Left-Consolidation the unity would be impracticable. He preferred this unity resulting in more effective action to the unity (as pleaded by Nehru) of inaction by surrender to the Right Wing. Like the growth and development of the Congress, it was the inner urge primarily responsible for the birth of the Forward Bloc.[42] Even if there would be a split, it would not be 'an unmixed evil' Such temporary split would be necessary fo

political advancement as the moderate seccession in 1918, the anti-non-cooperationists secession in 1920 and the Swarajist revolt of 1922.[43] The Congress would adjust itself with the new situation as it did in the past. Observing the existing state of affairs within Congress he had conclusive opinion regarding the inevitability of the internal crisis in view of the uncompromising attitude of the present High Command and their failure to move with the time.[44] Conceiving the Congress as the thesis and the Forward Bloc as the antithesis to it, he was hopeful for a better synthesis that would reorganise the Congress with dynamism and would save it from stagnation. Hence, he was philosophical to accept the split as a desirable internal crisis to be transcended before the external or international crisis mounted.[45] Now the question - whether Subhas was uncompromising, beyond reason, to be accommodated within the Congress as done earlier to the Congress Socialist Party and the Gandhi Seva Sangha or the Congress High Command was unwilling to accept him ?- is left for further study. One should not overlook the reaction of the Gandhi Seva Sangha followers at Delang (Orissa) in March 1938 against the Left.[46] The observation - 'of all participants only Gandhi had clear and consistent objective to out Bose' - also needs careful scrutiny and analysᵒs.[47] On the other hand, Subhas was magnanimous to accept full responsibility for the activities of the Bloc and was prepared for any disciplinary action.[48] While defending the decision of the Congress Working Committee to expel Subhas from the Congress for three years Gandhiji wrote in 'The Harijan', "In my opinion, the action taken by the Congress Working Committee was the mildest possible. There was no desire to be vindicᵒive. And surely the word 'vindictiveness' loses all its force and meaning when the position of Subhas Babu is considered."[49] Prior to this, Gandhiji had given a statement pleading ignorance of the decision of the Congress Working Committee. Now his writing in 'The Harijan' created a general opinion that he was behind the disciplinary action.[50]

Once the Second World War broke out on 3 September, the British Government declared India a belligerent country without consulting the Indian leaders. On 6 September, Gandhi-Linlithgow meeting resulted in the Congress cooperation with Britain in war matters. Surprisingly, on 8 September Subhas was a special invitee in the Congress Working Committee at Wardha and in clear cut term he urged the Congress to issue an ultimatum to the British Government otherwise the Forward Bloc would be free to take up future course of action.[51] Dejected Subhas left the meeting and was determined to carry on the struggle for freedom alone. He called on the nation to start the war of liberation against the British Imperialism.

Uncompromising struggle of Subhas exerted pressure on the Congress and his idea of forcing the Congress to accept the principles of the Forward Bloc partially succeeded. From the beginning Subhas had the aim to consolidate the Leftists to work as a pressure group within the Congress.[52] Through the consistent policy of the Forward Bloc, Subhas proceeded to win over the mass of the people and thereby put indirect pressure on the Mahatma.[53] Unprecedented sympathy wave generated in favour of the Forward Bloc urged upon Gandhiji and his followers to change their approach to war. They realised that the policy of cooperation with the British had earned negative response from the people in general and the change of attitude of Congress could undoubtedly be attributed to the success of Subhas. The Congress sought the Government policy on war followed by the commencement of individual passive resistance and resignation of the Congress Ministers.[54]

In the meanwhile the Forward Bloc, after the indecisive Ramgarh Congress, commenced its campaign of 'Satyagraha' by observing the National Week from April 6 to 13, 1940. The British

Government found the real menance to their war efforts in the Forward Bloc and put most of the prominent leaders of the Bloc and hundreds of co-workers of Subhas behind the bars. Many believed that the Congress response to the call for 'Satyagraha' given by the Forward Bloc would have forced Britain to terms.[55] Instead the Congress continued its policy of persecution against Subhas by suspending the Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee for extending help to him. However, 'The Springing Tiger', undeterred by such victimisation, continued the struggle ever violating the prohibitory order imposed on holding of public meetings. At last, Subhas was arrested on 2 July 1940 under Defence of India Rules for attempting to observe Sirajuddoula Day on 6 July.

Both the Congress and the Forward Bloc had the common ultimate aim in the attainment of Independence through 'Satyagraha'. But they differed on the method and time of launching 'Satyagraha', particularly the time. The Forward Bloc was determined for a consistent uncompromising struggle with immediate effect from 1939. On the other hand, the Congress policy was to wait till the preparedness of the country but never clarified in specific term what sort of preparation it expected. Also no programme was chalked out to prepare the nation for struggle. In some quarters the Congress policy of cooperation created the impression of a tacit promise to the Congress by the British Government to grant Independence to India after war. In contrast to the Congress policy of wait and cooperate, the Forward Bloc preferred to prepare rather than to ponder over the issue. Therefore, the Forward Bloc forged ahead bravely to awaken the nation in a planned manner.

What Subhas and the Forward Bloc could foresee in 1939, Gandhiji and the Congress realised the same only in 1942. The

long cherished ultimatum was issued in the shape of the famous Quit India Resolution on 8 August 1942. By this time Subhas was forcing Britain to be defensive at the frontier. The internal and external political condition was not that favourable in 1942 to launch a mass movement in comparison to that of 1939. Rather, Britain had overcome, to a greater extent, the hopeless and vulnerable situation of 1939 and though not victorious, was feeling secured due to the cooperation of the U.S.A in 1942. If at all by 1942 the country was prepared for struggle, was it due to the Congress policy? Speaking honestly, if the country was prepared for 'Satyagraha', the spadework was done by the Forward Bloc.

Did Gandhiji foresee the right time for the Quit India Movement ? If the answer is affirmative one, why did he not declare the detail programme and date on 8 August ? With the arrest of the top leaders of the Congress, the Quit India Movement had the spontaneous beginning by the leaderless masses on 9 August. Further, the Quit India Movement turned to be the most violent one among those under his leadership which was against his policy of non-violence. Even no prior guideline was prepared to prevent violence. It may be recalled here that Gandhiji's primary objection to Subhas's 'Satyagraha' was the practice of violence in the struggle. For Subhas ideal non-violence was impossible and act of self-defence was not violence.

Subhas had no intention to obstruct the Congress but had the desire to accelerate its activity. Through the Forward Bloc he awakened the country for a grim battle ahead and simultaneously continued the anti-imperialistic struggle. There was no third objective for him before attainment of Independence though he dreamt of the post-independence reconstruction. He was prepared to give up weapons against the Congress leadership if the later would respond to his call for ultimatum. He was well

aware that without the Congress, the war of liberation could not be a success. He had conflict with the Gandhi Wing but not with the Congress. He attempted to win the Congress over to his creed and even to win the Congress leadership. For this reason he appealed the masses to join the Congress in their millions and to enlist as member of the Forward Bloc. By this the rank and file of the Congress could have been converted to his point of view and policy of constitutionalism and reformism would be reversed for resumption of the national struggle with the united strength. His offensive programmes forced the Congress to revise its policy of cooperation and to rise up to the need of the time that culminated in the Quit India Movement. Thus, Subhas and the Forward Bloc were one among the major factors necessary of the history of Free India.

It is not wise to put 'ifs' and 'buts' in history. Still one can be tempted here to ask one or two questions. Could it be possible for the Congress, without the preparatory work and consistent struggle of the Forward Bloc, to give the call for 'Do or Die' in 1942 ? Without the ultimatum of 'Quit India' could it be possible to get the 'sanction of Independence from the victorious Britain' in 1947 ? If the answers are certain 'Yes', then the Forward Bloc was not a historical necessity.

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RE-READING BOSE IN THE POST-GANDHI (S) DAYS

Chandi Prasad Nanda.

The kind of crisis which the Congress Party underwent in the recent past on the issue of consensus vs election as regards the selection of CPP leadership has once again sharply focussed on the pressing need to revamp this 111 yrs. old organisation ideology. It is in this context, the more pronounced Bose-Gandhi debate and the resultant crisis at Tripuri session of Congress in 1939 make meaningful reading. This is precisely so, in so far as one attempts to locate the policy, tactics and the differing perceptions of political reality as well as the strength and weakness of the present Congress. In other words, the real question is to assess as to what extent the current debate amongst the Congress leaders shares the ideological concerns which not only generated the Bose-Gandhi debate in the Pre-1947 India, but also went into the making of the divergent ideological perspectives of the Congress Party. Despite such plural ideological structuring, Indian National Congress by and large remained united.

Subhas Bose who was the unanimous choice for the president ship of Congress in 1938, sought to defy Gandhi's choice of Pattavi Sitaramya as Congress President in 1939. Justifying the election for the office, Bose talked about the "new ideas, ideologies, problems and programmes" which he represented. As against this, the Gandhi camp in the Congress characterised the status of the Congress President to that of a constitutional head who stood for the "unity and solidarity of the nation". However, in the election that followed, Subhas won by a convincing margin. In his characterstic style, Gandhi dubbed the very defeat of Sitarammya as more of his own. However, Bose's

victory sparked off on intense debate within the Congress circle. The debate specifically related to the differences of approach of the two leaders as far as policy and tactics vis-a-vis anti-imperialist struggle was concerned. Subhas had, in fact branded Patel as well as the dominant Congress leadership as Rightists. Moreover, in his opinion, the Rightists leadership believed in the politics of compromise and negotiations with British Government. Thus, logically he argued that this strand of leadership could hardly accomodate a leftist like Bose as the President of Congress. Fairly convinced of the need to initiate an immediate and direct action against the British Government, Bose emphatically pleaded for giving the British Government a six months time frame to grant Independence or else to remain prepared for facing a mass civil disobedience movement. However, Gandhi's position on the issue was neatly summed up around May, 1939, when he observed: "I am totally opposed to Bose's views. To-day we possess no resources for a fight ... There is no limit to communal strife... We don't have the same hold among the peasants of Bihar as we used to ... How can we do anything without the workers and peasants? The country only belongs to them. I am not equipped to issue an ultimatum to the Government. The country would only be exposed to ridicule". And as expected the Tripuri session of the Congress, reiterated full faith in Gandhi's leadership and asked Bose to nominate a working committee as per Gandhi's wish. But, knowing fully well that, he could not lead the organisation on his own, Bose preferred to resign from Congress Presidentship.

In contrast, Bose's critique of Gandhian politics and philosophy was aptly articulated in the interview which Bose gave to a Congress activist of Orissa in Puri during August, 1939. To the question as to "what is Satyagraha" and whether his conception of *Satyagraha* was same as that of Gandhi, Bose replied that : "I can't say and it is useless to say what is its psychological content. To me

it means defiance of any unjust or immoral law, acts or ordinances of refusing to pay taxes". Similarly when he was asked whether he had no other difference with Gandhi except for the question of the preparedness or otherwise of the country for *Satyagraha*, Bose said "If the country is not prepared, the country can be prepared within a very short time. The trouble is that those who say the country is not prepared, donot prepare the country either".

Emphasising the fact that the country was ready for *Satyagraha* around 1939, Bose maintained: "The greatest in a leader consists in sensing the time for fight. Gandhi sensed it in 1930. Preparedness of the people can be tested only after actual *Satyagraha*. With all the objective conditions now present i.e. the growth of Congress membership, the international situation, the change in the Terrorists and the 8 Congress provinces, we are stronger to-day than before."

Dealing with the question of relationship between *Satyagraha* and non-violence, Bose viewed : "We cannot have ideal non-violence. We have already reasonable amount of non-violence at least more than what we had in previous times. It is not a fact that my *Satygraha* is different from that of Gandhiji. The only difference is that Gandhiji is no more a *Satyagrahi*. He is now a co-operator. He is afraid of mass movement. Violence is just a plea. Gandhiji was a *Satyagrahi* when he started civil disobedience. T0 a question put to him then, he could answer that he never stopped civil disobedience, even when a violence broke out. That Gandhi was dynamic. He has ceased to be so. One of the reasons being is his old age and this also happened in the life time of Surendranath Banerjee." Refuting the idea that Gandhi alone knew the technique of *Satyagraha* and its use better than others, he wondered: "Why should Gandhiji claim that he alone knows *Satyagraha*? What could a single man do if we do not organise *Satyagraha* in our provinces?"

Agreeing to the view that *Satyagraha* may be dependent on the constructive programme e.g. Khadi, Harijan uplift, Hindu-Muslim

Unity, etc., Bose suggested that the way to prepare the country for *Satygraha* was to organise the masses and Congress membership and recruit volunteers. In this context he remarked : "xxx when the Kisans, students, youngmen and labourers who are vital forces in the country are getting out of Congress influences, and do not care to hear the present day leaders, how can the Congress fight? What then is the Congress?"

Again sharply reacting to the query as to why he did not undertake the responsibility of forming his own cabinet when Gandhiji offered him that chance at Calcutta, Bose noted with anguish: "That would have been against the Tripuri resolution. Gandhiji did not like my forming a composite cabinet nor would he bless a homogenous cabinet if I formed". Focusing on the politics of Rightists in the Congress and spelling out the objectives of Forward Bloc, in his presidential address of All Orissa Youths Conference held during May, 1939 at Cuttack, Bose had also remarked that: "There were two classes of men inside the Congress. One class wanted to make a slow progress and the other wanted a speedy action. In the past, these two parties were co-operating with each other and the work was smoothly managed. This year the Right Winger did not like to co-operate with the Leftists... When they said that the country was not ready for a fight and just chalked out a Constitutional programme, it was the duty of the leftists to prepare the country for a fight. The first step in this direction would be to consolidate all the leftists which were fairly in a majority inside the Cogress and get a fighting programme passed in the Congress . Secondly, a fighting spirit is to be infused among the countrymen and thirdly to plunge in another *Satyagraha*. If these can be done, the British Government have not the power to crush this concerted action xxx The only item of the programme of the Forward Bloc is to prepare the country for the struggle". Further, during August. 1939, speaking in a youth conference at cuttack, he had appealed to the people to support the "Bloc" so that it would influence the Congress (Rightists) to fight for the complete

independence of the country. Yet in another meeting at Balasore on 10 August, he explained to the audience that the policy of the Congress had become weak-kneed policy and the Congress of the day had turned into a Liberal Federation. He went on to note that he wanted to see Congress as a living and fighting organisation. With this object in view coupled with the circumstances of the present day, Subhas considered it essential for the formation of the "Forward Bloc".

Similarly, speaking at the All Orissa Youths' Conference held at Cuttack on 5 August 39, Bose observed : "... There has all along been a difference of opinion among the Congress. It is not a wonder. As India is a big country inhabited by 350 million of people, it is natural that there should be men of different ideologies. There is nothing personal. It is a matter of principle. Such differences were necessary because every individual has his own principle and he has a right to give vent to it... These differences did not weaken the Congress. Rather, it strengthened it. Each time there was a compromise and a more radical programme for the Congress was accepted. During the period, Mr. Gandhi took the reins of the Congress in his hand three big Satyagrahas had been launched with the result that the country had made a good headway. The Congress (has become) powerful..."

Talking about Bose's strategy, the renowned historian Prof. Bipan Chandra suggests : "Bose wanted Gandhiji to be the leader of the coming struggle but he wanted Gandhiji to follow the strategy and tactics laid down by him and the left wing parties and groups. Gandhiji on the other hand, would either lead the Congress on the basis of his own strategy and style of politics or surrender the position of the leader. xxx In other words, as Rajendra Prasad later wrote in his Autobiography, Gandhiji and the older leaders would not accept a situation where the strategy and tactics were not theirs but

strategy and tactics laid down by him and the left wing parties and groups. Gandhiji on the other hand, would either lead the Congress on the basis of his own strategy and style of politics or surrender the position of the leader. xxx In other words, as Rajendra Prasad later wrote in his Autobiography, Gandhiji and the older leaders would not accept a situation where the strategy and tactics were not theirs but the responsibility for implementing them would be theirs".

However, the positive aspect of the Bose-Gandhi debate lay in the fact that it offered a significant space for the left-ward and socialistic transformation of the Indian National movement. In other words, the Bose ideology succeeded remarkably in offering a socialist ideological orientation to the Congress movement. The ideological vacuum which seems to have badly affected the present Congress set-up needs to be partly corrected by transforming the current "Kesari/Rao-Pawar-Pilot' debate into an ideological dialogue in the line of 'Bose-Gandhi', or the Gandhians-Communists or Congress Socialists. -Communists positions within Indian National Congress. As the history of Congress shows, these debates had gone into the shaping of Congress culture in terms of programmes, policies and priorities.

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SATYAGRAHA : AS BAPUJI AND NETAJI PROFESS

Sarat Chandra Jena.

This paper is prepared on the basis of the interview made by Lokanath Misra alias Panka Misra then a young nationalist, with Subhas Chandra Bose during his visit to Orissa in the month of August, 1939 with support of Original documents preserved in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar. The interview was a sort of clarification from Subhas for his ideological differences with Gandhiji.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was one of the most eminent national leaders of India. He was a towering personality and committed revolutionary who infused dynamism into the national movement and created awakening among the Indians for national identity. As a national leader he was revered equally respected as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.[1] He held radical and socialist political views and advocated the method of direct action for attainment of *Swaraj*. Unfortunately, "he was opposed by many of his contemporary political leaders due to his differences with Gandhiji, but the tone of his criticism of Gandhi was never malicious."[2] Both the leaders aimed at a common goal for ultimate achievement of complete independence for India. There was not any personal grudge between these two eminent leaders of India rather Subhas was the first person to offer him the highest honour, "Father of the Nation."[3] The only difference lies in undertaking the plan of action against the British imperialism in India. Gandhiji was the exponent of *Satyagraha* which is based on non-violence and non-cooperation though Netaji does not oppose *Satyagraha* but does not believe in the course of action adopted

by Mahatma Gandhi. According to Subhas. "Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from any foreign country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price."[4]

Subhas could know that India was ripe for revolution and complete independence. Long before 1939 he was convinced that the Second World War would break out soon and India should avail the golden opportunity to win her independence. With a view to take up immediate action, in March 1939, Subhas in his presidential speech in Tripuri Congress Session suggested that the Indian National Congress should send an ultimatum to the British Government demanding independence within six months. But his proposal was opposed by the Gandhi Wing. These two leaders met at Sodepur near Calcutta for urgent discussion in person to person. The proposal of Subhas was not accepted, so he did not like to be a puppet President and finally resigned from the office of the Congress President at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta in April 1939.[5] Then Subhas formed Forward Bloc within the Congress with the support of the Leftist members in May, 1939 then as immediate effective measure for an uncompromising struggle against British imperialism.[6]

In order to organise the Leftist Wing and to awaken the people by expounding the principles of Forward Bloc he undertook an extensive tour all over India and ultimately gained the confidence of every section of people for his leadership. During this period Orissa had the opportunity to be acquainted with his ideology, programme and method of action while he addressed mamooth public meetings at Cuttak, Berhampur (Ganjam), Khurda, Puri, Chandanpur and Balasore between 5 August to 12 August, 1939.[7] The leading youths and nationalists like Pandit Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Mishra, Jadumani Mangaraj and

Raibahadur Lokanath Mishra actively participated and organised the meetings to cooperate Subhas.[8] Moreover, the Superintendent of Police, Cuttack reports on 6 and 7 August, 1939 that the young nationalists like Manmohan Mishra, Bibhudendra Mishra, Dibysing Das and Asoka Das rendered cooperation and attended the conference at Cuttack and the youths' Conference expresses its fullest confidence in the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose.[9] According to the confidential report submitted by the District Officer, Puri, Subhas Chandra Bose reached at Puri by Puri Express train in the early hours of 8 August, 1939 and he was taken in a grand reception procession from the Railway Station to the Paikapara Estate building where he took his lodge. In the evening there was a largely attended meeting at the Lion's Gate of the temple of Lord Jagannath. Raibahadur Lokanath Misra, the Chairman of the Puri Municipality presided over the meeting where Subhas addressed to crowd both pro and anti Forward Bloc, members of the Puri District Board and Puri Municipality, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Students' Federation and the Bengali residents of Puri. His address was mainly on the organisation of the Forward Bloc within the Congress and was to initiate the people to fight directly against the British Imperialism till complete independence was achieved.[10]

The Pradesh Congress Organisation of Orissa was full of divergent forces, sometimes for personal animocity, for which Pandit Nilakantha Das, the President of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, was strongly criticising the Congress Ministry in Orissa. Lokanath Misra alias Panka Misra, a pleader of Puri, was known for his socialist activities as well as strong Gandhian philosophy who openly opposed the President, Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee lending support to Subhas. Even he went to the extent of conducting a personal interview of Subhas principally dealing the questions on ideology of Gandhi and

Subhas. Fifteen questions in all were put to Subhas by Lokanath Misra in the presence of Pandit Nilakantha Das, Jagannath Rath, Dukhishyam Das and Jadumani Mangaraj. The whole text of their interview is quoted here to acquaint the learned scholars with the difference between Netaji and Mahatmaji in preparing *Satyagraha* against the British Imperialism in India,[11] as follows:

"Q.1. Except for the question of the preparedness or otherwise of the country for Satyagraha you have no other difference with Gandhiji?

Ans. If the country is not prepared, the country can be prepared within a very short time. The trouble is that those who say the country is not prepared, do not prepare the country either.

Q.2. What is Satyagraha? Is your conception of Satyagraha the same as Gandhiji?

Ans. My view of Satyagraha is exactly the same as Gandhiji's. I cannot say and it is useless to say what is its philosophical content. To me it means defiance of any unjust or immoral law, acts or ordinances or refusing to pay taxes.

Q.3. Do you think the country is prepared for Satyagraha?

Ans. The greatest in a leader consists in serving the time for fight Gandhiji sensed it in 1930. Preparedness of the people can be tested only after Satyagraha. With all the objective conditions now present is the growth of Congress Membership, the international situation, the change in the Terrorists and the 8 Congress Provinces, we are stronger today than ever before.

Q.4. What is the relation of Satyagraha with non-violence?

Ans. We cannot have ideal non-violence, we have already reasonable amount of non-violence at least more than what we had in previous times. It is not a fact that my Satyagraha is different from that of Gandhiji, The only difference is that Gandhiji is no more a Satyagrahi. He is now a Co-operator. He is afraid of a Mass Movement-Violence is just a plea. Gandhiji was a Satyagrahi in 1930 when he started Civil Disobedience. To question put to him then, he could answer that he never stopped Civil Disobedience even when a violence broke out. That Gandhiji was dynamic. He has ceased to be so, one of the reason being his old age and this also happened in the life time of Surenderanath Banarjee.

Q.5. Do you think you know the technique of Satyagraha and its use better than Gandhiji ?

Ans. Why should Gandhiji claim that he alone know Satyagraha ? What could a single man do if we do not organise Satyagraha in our Provinces ?

Q.6. How far do you think is Satyagraha dependent on the constructive Programme e. g. Khadi, Harijan uplift, Hindu-Muslim unity, Prohibition and Village Industries ?

Ans. Satyagraha may be dependent on the constructive programme.

Q.7. What do you think is the way to prepare the country for Satyagraha?

Ans. To organise the Masses and Congress Membership and to recruit volunteers. I have often enough insisted on organising a volunteer corps like Hindustan Seva Dala but that has gone unheeded in the working committee Now-a-days in the country particularly

Maharastra a strong volunteer organisation has been established. It consists of all Youngmen and Students and they are now outside all Congress influence. They are pro-Hindu Sava, they are pro-League. Such organisation unless they come under Congress influence are a danger to the Congress; but the Leaders would not mind that when Kissans, Students, Youngmen and Labourer who are vital forces in the country are getting out of Congress influences and donot care to hear the present day leaders, how can the Congress fight ? What their is the Congress ?

Q.8. Is not the fulfilment of the Constructive Programme a preparation for Satyagraha ? Should the Ministry leave the constructive programme half -way and resign? Do you think the Congress Ministers should now resign ?

Ans. I am not a fool to say that Ministers should resign. They will be there resisting the Governor when will launch Satyagraha. And what are the Ministers now doing except small reforms? After Swaraj we can have all those things quickly, completely and easily.

Q.9. Why did not you undertake the responsibility of forming your own cabinet when Gandhiji gave you that chance at Calcutta?

Ans. Because that would have been against the Tripuri resolution. Gandhiji did not like my forming a composite cabinet nor would he bless a homogeneous cabinet if I formed.

Q.10. Can't you work out your programme without organising the Forward Block?

Ans. No. Because the leftists forces are not yet organised

although their number is sufficient. That was seen at Tripuri. The RIGHTISTS are marvelously organised. They fall in, when called to man. The Ministers are also there.

Q.11 How is it that Royists who would not co-operate with the moderate Rightists lend you their support and Co-operation.

Ans. Go and ask them . The present controversy is both strengthening and weakening the Congress.

Q.12. How is it that although you want immediate Satyagraha you helped disunity in the Congress?

Ans. Because there is not other alternative.

Q.13. How does the Forward Block differ from the Socialists and Royists ?

Ans. The programme of Socialists and of the Forward Block is almost the same. The Socialists joined the Forward Block; but withdraw later because they grew afraid of losing their Party identity. They wanted to come as a Party and would like to be treated as such. I could not do that, Mr. Masani and others did not like that and therefore the Socialists withdraw.

As regards the Royists I do not understand Mr. Roy or his opposition to composite cabinet. Both the Socialists and Royists are afraid of disciplinary action and think that if they are driven out of the Congress they are no where.

Q.14. Are there no instances of violence in the country now?

Ans. As an instance of non-violence in practice the Congress Ministers should be driven out if they prosecute leaders

like Sahajananda. Would you not violent if the British Government behave with Gandhiji as the Congress Ministers are behaving with Sahajanandajee who is as much to same people as Gandhiji to others?

Q.15. What is your opinion with regard to Bombay Prohibition Policy?

Ans. The Bombay Prohibition Policy is foolish. Even the Excise and Finance Ministers threatened resignation but Mr. Munshi took Dr. Gilder to Gandhiji and got his resignation withdrawn. Had the Ministers known anything on the subject of taxation, they would have never imposed the Sales Tax and the Property Tax which create without of unemployment and resentment from the poor dealers and wearers of Indian Mill cloths. The new taxation will take away the only good thing to the credit of the Bombay Ministers i.e. 12 p.c. increase in wages. They are neglecting everything else in favour of prohibition, because that is Gandhiji's hobby. The Ministers were threatened to be driven out if they did not work out the Prohibition Policy and they dared not lose their job."

The above quoted text is fully based on the *Satyagraha*, the most powerful weapon used in the war of Indian Independence and implies differences of ideology between Mahatmaji and Netaji. So it requires comparative study on the plan of action of these two eminent nationalists for understanding *Satyagraha* and launching it.

Satyagraha in the real sense, means the 'devotion of truth' or 'truth force'. It is the combination of two words - *Satya* as the truth and *Agraha* as firmness and practice. Jointly the two terms mean firm assertion of truth. Satyagraha implied non-

submission to wrong and injustice. This philosophy was introduced in the 20th century by Mahatma Gandhi, the guiding angel for the Indian people in their fight against the British imperialism. It is based on *Ahimsa* or non-violence.[12] It is a legacy of the ancient Indian culture with religious tolerance as a corollary to it . In the Indian society again in the first half of the 20th Century, the whole Indian subcontinent was resounding with slogans of non-violence and religious tolerance, preached and practised by Gandhiji.[13] Moreover, the Gandhian concept of *Satyagraha* philosophy has been drawn up from the religious writings of the *Bible* and the *Bhagabat Gita* along with the ideas of Leo Tolstoy and Henery David Thoreau. This concept of *Satyagraha* gave a new dimension to the human society for establishing peace and security of life in the violent world that glorified the Indian civilisation and spiritualism. He adopted the same technique of struggle in politics especially against the British imperialism in India which had no immediate effect. So he was suspected and criticised by many leaders including Subhas. Both non-violence and religion tolerance have played the role of binding force in Indian society. Both Mahavir Jaina and Gautam Buddha presented these two concept in their simplest form for the common people. It may be said that Gandhi did not succeed in spiritualising Indian politics.[14]

Gandhiji says that he did not work out the science of *Satyagraha.* It was an experiment with truth.[15] According to him "Satyagraha is a sort of war, no doubt, but without its ugly aspects. He practised it in his private life, and later on extended it to public affairs." Gandhiji started with the basic presumption that fundamentally there was something good about every person. This has been the basis of Gandhiji's techniques of struggle. Thus Gandhiji is different from Hobbes and Machiavelli in his approach.[16] He also said that it was a passive resistance, refusal

to obey the demands or commands of Government occupying power, without resorting to violence or active measures.

After the official sanction of the Congress the non-cooperation movement started in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and reached the top by 1921. In the beginning of 1922 Gandhiji gave a call to suspend the movement for Chauri Chaura violence in Uttar Pradesh. He was always apprehensive of the mass violence. So at times the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi looked shaky. His slogan for complete independence was not successful. He started Civil Disobedience Movement on 12 March 1930. The Government adopted a policy of ruthless suppression and thousands of non-violent Satyagrahis were arrested including Mahatma Gandhi. Once again this movement was called off by him after a compromise with the Government called the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.. So during the intervening period, i.e. between 1922 and 1930, the people began to doubt seriously the utility of *Satyagraha* when the British administration came upon the people with a heavy hand of suppression. The dynamic element in the society was not at all ready to recognise it as an effective measure. The technique of *Satyagraha* began to appear full of loopholes. Gandhiji was sure of the efficacy of that movement and ascribed its failure to the lack of preparation on the part of the people.[17]

On the other hand Subhas says that his concept of *Satyagraha* is not different from that of Mahatma Gandhi. He answered to the questioner, Panka Misra, "my view of *Satyagraha* is exactly the same as Gandhiji." According to him defiance of any unjust or immoral law, acts or ordinances or refusing to pay taxes is called *Satyagraha*. Conceptually he may absolutely agree with that of Gandhiji but in action he differs from him. It may be mentioned that in 1921 the British Government confronted a

number of outbreaks and murders by the angry mobs at Chauri Chaura. After this incident Gandhiji abruptly terminated the *Satyagraha* movement and remarked that the country was not ready then for a non-violent movement. But Subhas was critical at the decision of Gandhiji. Many leaders including Jawaharlal were unhappy for the suspension of the movement, because of a stray violent incident. The decision received similar response from the mass. It implies that the people wanted an immediate effective *Satyagraha* for resistance of the British imperialism for which Subhas advocated. The intention of Satyagrahis and the revolutionary action of Subhas were proved after formation of Forward Bloc in India in 1939 and outbreak of the August Revolution in 1942 with revolutionary slogan of Satyagrahis, "Do or Die" and ultimately formation of the Indian National Army in abroad in 1943. The difference of ideology and action between these two top-ranking nationalists can be marked from the very beginning when Subhas met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time in Bombay in 1921. During the discussion of Gandhi and Subhas the replies of the former leader did not convince the later. Subhas could not understand "how could mere non-payment of taxes or civil disobedience force the government to retire from the field and leave us with our freedom ? Secondly, how could Gandhiji promise *Swaraj* within one year as he had been doing ever since the Nagpur Congress ?" [18] Moreover, Subhas was greatly influenced by the extremists like Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurovindo. Finally, C.R. Das, a radical leader of Bengal was the political *Guru* of Subhas. In spite of many of his contemporary oppositions a new style of political action dynamism bore in his mind for the cause of liberation of India from the British Imperialism. Being dissatisfied with the Gandhian plan of action and thought against the British imperialism Subhas had the opportunity to visit many of the European countries from 1933 and

had talked with the revolutionary leaders like Mussolini and Hitler to ascertain their views about India's freedom struggle and also studied the objectives of many revolutionary personalities. Long before 1939 Subhas could realise that an international crisis in the form of World War would break out soon and it would be a golden opportunity for winning Indian Independence. Then India should make the fullest use of that crisis in the nick of time.[19] Besides, he was propagating this view since 1927 confidently and was trying to induce the Congress to shape its policy accordingly. So it can be rightly said that though the aims and objects of *Satyagraha* of these two eminent leaders are the same but the plan of actions are undoubtedly different.

Subhas expressed his views about *Satyagraha* to Panka Misra and told him his actual feelings and differences with that of Gandhiji which can be studied from the above quoted text in answer No.4. According to him Gandhiji was not a Satyagrahi in 1939 rather he was then a Cooperator and was afraid of a Mass Movement. Further he remarked that violence was just a plea of Gandhiji. The idea of uncompromising struggle of Subhas could not adjust with Gandhian policy of understanding and compromise with the British Imperialism. Subhas had great respect for Gandhiji as a person but did not agree with the methods he adopted for winning India's independence. Gandhiji's honesty, simplicity, frankness and sublimity in his manner in dealing with his enemies were considered as his weakness by the British Politicians. Moreover, in a materialistic world his method was too lofty and too straight forward in dealings. Despite of differences between India and Britain on the question of Indian Independence, in September 1939 Gandhiji declared that India would cooperate with the British unconditionally at the time of danger. He believed that in the path of *Satyagraha* negotiations and compromise are essential at some stage.[20] On the other hand, Subhas was never prepared for any

sort of compromise and advocated to avail the opportunity of war situation.

The impact of anti-war propaganda was also felt by the Satyagrahis in Orissa. Accordingly, the "Anti-War Day" was observed on 23 April 1939 in the Puri Town, Nimapara and Delang. Meetings were held in different places on the occasion and called on the people not to join in any Imperialist War and to be ready to oppose any attempts to force India to join such wars, if any. Socialist's leaflet "Dhwansare Mukti" compiled by Gokulananda Raichuramoni was distributed in Nayagarh.[21] Subhas answered that the dynamic Gandhi of 1930 has been changed to compromising one advocating Personal Civil Disobedience Movement instead of Mass Civil Disobedience Movement for Indian Independence.

The plan of action of *Satyagraha* of Subhas attracted the students, peasants, labourers and youngmen who were the vital force of India for an immediate and effective *Satyagraha* against the British Imperialism. So he emphasised on the organisation of Trade Unions, Kissan Sabhas and Students' Federations for implementation of his policy in the cause of total sacrifice for liberation of the motherland.[22] The Organisation like the *Hindustan Seva Dal* should be organised for launching active *Satyagraha*. More enthusiasm was also found among the youths of Orissa during his tour to Orissa.

Considering the political activities of India it can be rightly said, "the use of force was necessary to dislodge the alien ruler from Indian Soil."[23] So Subhas was absolutely correct in implementing his dynamic leadership and style of action for achievement of ultimate objective of India's freedom through *Satyagraha* with some differences of the techniques to that of *Satyagraha* of Mahatma Gandhi. The "two main currents

dominated the course of India's national struggle during its final phase - one represented by M.K. Gandhi and the other by Subhas Chandra Bose." In historical terms "Gandhiji was the father of Indian Awakening and Subhas was the father of Indian Revolution."[24]

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IDEAS AND IDEALS OF SUBHAS BOSE

Nihar Ranjan Patnaik

Subhas Chandra Bose is the stormy petrel in Indian politics, who lives in the heart of the multitudes of Indians as one of the most redoubtable of freedom fighters who considered his motherland to be much greater than heaven itself. It was in this Orissa 'the land of sorrows and tears',[1] where Subhas saw the light of the world. Cuttack provided him the soil where he began to blossom like a morning flower. After passing a brilliant scholastic career in Cuttack and Calcatta, he went to England as an enthusiastic youth eager to imbibe the best spirit of that country. Thanks to the British, who have provided early education and training to some of our top -ranking national leaders. Though Subhas stood fourth in I.C.S. Examination in 1920, surprisingly he refused to accept this dazzling prospects of life. He said, "I must either chuck this rotten service and dedicate myself whole-heartedly to the country's cause, or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and aspiration."[2]

After his return to India, Subhas jumped into the mainstream of the national movement. He led a strike in Calcutta when Non-cooperation movement was going on. But Subhas was dreaming with his extremism. His ideology soon brought him a rift first and chasm afterwards with Gandhiji, who was then virtual dictator of the Indian National Movement. In the beginning Subhas and Jawaharlal Nehru jointly led the revolt against Mahatma Gandhi. At that time, except that Subhas disliked Communism while Nehru admired Russia,[3] their respective ideologies were same. But subsequently, the evergrowing loyalty of Nehru to Gandhi sealed the fate of their friendship.[4] Subhas could not appreciate the sudden suspension

of Non-cooperation Movement by Mahatma Gandhi. Rather he appreciated Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das and became a Swarajist. When at a time Chittaranjan Das was the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation, Subhas Bose was an Executive Councillor. Soon Subhas became the idol and uncrowned king of Bengal.

Subhas Bose remained as an active member of the congress party since 1921. The fifty -first session of the Congress met at Vithalnagar, Haripura in Gujrat on 19 February 1938. Subhas was unanimously elected as President of the Congress . In the following year he too was elected as the President for the second time. Subhas Bose chose a path of his own, that he had rebelled against the Gandhian cult and kept his own counsel in political matters.[5] The year 1938 saw the widening of the gulf between the two wings of the Congress, one led by Gandhiji and other by Subhas Bose. Subhas Bose gives the following explanation of the breach between him and Gandhi : "As Congress President, the writer did his best to stiffen the opposition of the Congress Party to any compromise with Britain and this caused annoyance in Gandhian circles who were then looking forward to an understanding with the British Government. Later in the year 1938, he launched the National Planning Committee for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and of national development. This caused further annoyance to Mahatma Gandhi who was opposed to industrialization. After the Munich Pact, in September 1938, the writer began an open propaganda throughout India in order to prepare the Indian people for a national struggle, which should synchronise with the coming war in Europe. This move though popular among the people in general was resented by the Gandhietes who did not want to be disturbed in their ministerial and parliamentary work and who were

at that time opposed to any national struggle."[6] The basic difference between Subhas Bose and Gandhi was in their attitude towards Britain. Subhas looked upon a war between Germany and Britain as a godsend which would enable India to exploit the situation to her advantage; for he followed the principle; England's necessity was India's opportunity.[7] On the other hand, Gandhi had a soft corner for Britain and was definitely opposed to the idea of taking advantage of Britain's peril.[8] Subhas Bose regarded Gandhi's habit of putting all his cards on the table, his opposition to the policy of social boycott of political opponents, his hope of a change of heart on the part of the British Government as some of the defects in his leadership and tactics.[9] With Gandhi, 'Means are Ends'. With Subhas 'Ends are Means'. Gandhi was moved by instinct. Subhas was guided by reason. They were two polar opposites.[10] A man with such ideas as Subhas possessed was bound to come into conflict with Gandhi. He did in 1939, humbled Gandhi in the first round of the struggle, but was ultimately defeated and expelled from the Congress.[11]

Subhas Bose now formed a new party known as the Forward Block, which was first organised in Bengal. He himself thus narrates the genesis of the party: "In the absence of an organised and disciplined left wing, it was impossible for the writer to fight the Gandhi Wing. Consequently, India's primary political need in 1939 was an organised and disciplined left Wing Party in the Congress."[12]

The British Government looked upon Subhas Bose as a dangerous revolutionary and arrested him on 2 July 1940, under section 129 of the Defence of India Rules. Subhas decided to go on hunger-strike and on 26 November, 1940 wrote a letter to the Governor of Bengal thus, " The individual must die, so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may

win freedom and glory".[13] On 29 November 1940, Subhas started his fast, but as he developed alarming symptoms, the British Government released him after six days. Though under strict surveillance by the police, Subhas mysteriously escaped from India in organising a national army in South Asia to fight along the Japanese against the British imperialism. Subhas saw the rosy dreams of Indian independence through this Indian National Army, the army of 'Free India', a 'provisional government that claimed to be a national state under the Presidency of himself.[14] Indian National Army failed as it was no match to British might. But it left a lesson for the first time so many thousand soldiers and Indian army officers, bound by the 'oath of loyalty' to the British, demonstrated to the world that the 'oath of loyalty' was infact a bond of slavery and broke it when an opportunity came their way to serve their motherland.

The death soon stopped the advancing adventure of Subhas. He was reported to be going by a plane to Tokyo on 18 August 1945 and his Plane met with an accident in which he was injured seriously and succumbed to the injuries later in the day. The circumstances surrounding the tragedy were wrapped in mystery for a long time. Like a ball of fire, Subhas had crisscrossed the Indian sky as long as he was here and then he became a legend abroad fighting for India's cause according to his concept. That blaze of glory continued till he faded away. The world has few examples of Subhas's combination of idealism, dedication and realism.[15]

As everybody has a life, he has a philosophy of his own. The flow of thought proceeds and recedes like the wheel of the time. Subhas Bose can not go out of this truth. The early reflection of his philosophy was seen in May 1923 when Subhas said: " We have come to this earth to fulfil some purpose. We

have a message to give to the world. The sun rises in the sky to light up the whole universe: flowers blossom in order to sweeten the air with their fragrance, the stream rushes forward to offer its abundance of water to the sea. Likewise we have come to this earth with our joyful youth and full blooded life in order to establish some great truth. With single minded devotion and practical experience of life we have to discover that unknown and secret purpose of life which transforms an otherwise meaningless existence into a fruitful one".

Subhas met Gandhiji in Bombay. Love at first sight may not be always true but mutual allergy at first meeting is possible. Subhas has himself written that the meeting somehow did not hit and neither took to each other. This mutual allergy was a national tragedy.[16] Subhas was as much a man of religion as Gandhiji was, yet for him religion had no place in politics.[17] He had very little faith in *Ahimsa* or non-violence. Subhas said, "Gandhism had been found wanting because it was wedded to non-violence".[18] Subhas opined that the cult of non-violence was the real cause responsible for the decline of India. He says, "After all what has brought about India's downfall in the material and political sphere ? It is her inordinate belief in fate and in the supernatural, her indifference to modern scientific development, her backwardness in the science of modern warfare, the peaceful contentment engendered by her later day philosophy and adherence to *Ahimsa* carried to the most absurd length".

Subhas Bose was very much optimistic. He knew well that India would be free soon. He said, " The only question is, when will freedom be attained ? True, we have been born slaves, but we shall die free people, in a free land; come, let us take the oath that we shall die having made India free. And, if at all we fail to see her free, may be sacrifice our lives in our struggle to achieve her

freedom. Thorny indeed is the road to freedom, nevertheless, it is a road also to immortality".[19] For Subhas, independence means independence for all - for the society as well as the individual, for man as well as woman, for the rich as well as the poor. Furthermore, according to him, independence implies not merely political freedom, but an equal distribution of wealth, removal of caste differences and social injustice and abolition of all communal narrowness and bigotry. Subhas says that the only way to attain freedom is to think and feel like a freeman. Let therefore, the full blood of the spirit of revolution fill our hearts and the desire for freedom like blood-red wine run through our veins. Once we are wide awake with a desire for independence an endless stream of energy will course through us. Cowardly words of caution will no more be a discouragement for us and the trumpet call of truth and action will inspire us and lead us straight to the goal.

In favour of Dominion status or complete Independence the most important argument of Subhas was psychological. At Calcutta Congress he said, "You can say, what do we gain by this resolution of Independence? I say, we develop a new mentality. After all, what is the fundamental cause of our political degradation? That is the question of mentality and if you want to overcome the slave mentality, you will do so by encouraging our countrymen to stand for full and complete independence. I go further and say, assuming that we do not follow it up by action, but by preaching the gospel honestly and placing the goal of independence before our countrymen, we shall bring up a new generation."[20] To Subhas Bose, Gandhi's programme was too passive and at Lahore Congress he denounced the programme laid down by Gandhi's resolution as "not such as to carry us towards the goal of complete independence".[21]

On the eve of the Haripura Session of the Congress, Subhas Bose as President outlined his policy thus, "My term of

office as the Congress President will be devoted to resist this unwanted federal scheme with all its undemocratic and anti-national features, with all the peaceful and legitimate powers, including non-violent non-cooperation if necessary and to strengthen the country's determination to resist this scheme". Subhas further said that it would be his endeavour during the year to so develop the power of resistance among the people of India as to make the British Government abandon the idea of forcing the federal scheme down the throats of the Indian people. In this effort they would keenly watch international developments and adjust their tactics accordingly, so as to take the fullest advantage.[22]

Hegelian theory of dilectical rational evolution of world process was very much liked by Subhas Bose. He had a great faith on progressive evolution. Hegel was the philosopher to whom he paid the best kind of respect.

What are needed for a healthy society ? Subhas says, " Every where and in every sphere, be that social, political or economic each of us should have equal right and not the slightest inequality can be tolerated. Equal rights and opportunities for all, equal distribution of property; removal of all social laws that breed inequality, abolition of the caste system and freeing the country from the foreign rule - these should be the basic propositions of the society we desire to build up a new".[23] Subhas Bose was the first national leader who held that a comprehensive economic planning was necessary for India. He condemned Gandhi's views to be bourgeois and wanted the Congress to adopt a radical economic programme.[24] It included abolition of land lordism, extension of Co-operative movement, a comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state ownership and state control.[25]

Some one asked Subhas Bose in Kabul how, in the face of religious and communal dessension in India the country would

be united. He replied, "So long as there is a third party in the country, that is the British, these dessensions will not end. They will go on growing. They will disappear only when an iron dictator rules India for twenty years. For a few years at least after the end of British rule in India there must be a dictatorship. No other constitution can flourish in the country. And it is to India's good that she should be ruled by a dictator to begin with. None but a dictator can wipe out such dissensions. India does not suffer from one ailment. She suffers from so many political ills that only a ruthless dictator can cure her. ... ... India needs a Kamal Pasha."[26]

Many Congressmen including Nehru condemned Subhas as a fascist, Nehru advocated a policy of consistent and undiluted opposition to fascist aggression. He viewed the Second World War as a conflict between ideologies of democracy and fascism. During the war, Nehru advocated conditional support to British war effort. But Subhas Bose wanted the Congress to take advantage of England's difficulty and free the country with the help of Axis powers.[27]

In December 1933, through a press statement Nehru said, "I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is between some form of Communism and some form of Fascism One has to choose between the two and I choose the communist Ideal."[28] But Subhas, Bose differed with Nehru as he believed that a synthesis between these two was possible and hoped that India would discover it.[29] His idea, a sort of middle path, was that in spite of the antithesis between Communism and Fascism there were certain traits common to both. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. That synthesis was called by Subhas, 'Samavadya' which was anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. Subhas' 'Forward Block' was based on leader-principle, organisation of youth, military discipline, changing the

standard of living of the workers and peasants to a high level, one party state, and most of other doctrines of 'Samavadya Sangha'. It was thus a synthesis of Socialism and Fascism which was what Subhas wanted.[30]

On October 12, 1939 Subhas Bose at Delhi said thus, "I am opposed to Hitlerism whether in India, within the Congress or any other country, but it appears to me that socialism is the only alternative to Hitlerism. I do not think Britain and France are to welcome the rise of socialists to power in Germany as they were already supreme in Russia. All European countries would come under the influence of socialists if they come into power in Germany and France besides Russia."

In his Presidential address at Haripura Congress Subhas stated, "In connection of our foreign policy we should not be influenced by the international politics of any country or the form of its state." He further said, "In this matter I should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist states and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter."[31] Thus Subhas wanted that Indian National Congress should not pass any judgement about militaristic and expansionist activities of Italy, Germany and Japan.[32] But it could not convince the Nehru group in the Congress, who condemned fascism as the twin brother of imperialism and declared that this struggle between democratic progress and fascist reaction was of great consequences to the future of the world and would affect the future of imperialism and India.[33] But to it, Subhas replied that if fascists meant Hitlers, super Hitlers, or budding Hitlers, "then one may say that these specimens of humanity are to be found in the Rightist camp."[34]

Though it seems Subhas to be a fascist but actually he is

not. The only 'ism' he knew was 'Nationalism', i.e. Indian Nationalism. Influenced though by Hitler, Mussoline and Stalin, his ideal was neither Hitler, nor Mussoline nor Stalin but Kamal Pasha. Kamal Pasha's swift modernization of a backward oriental state appealed him deeply. He thought that India was in need of a material and social reconstruction on the same scale and hence needs same type of administration.[35]

The vigorous nationalism of Subhas Bose was never a diction of copy-book morality but was based on sound logic and practical nationalism and as such, never appeared to be evaporating into a misty sentiment. Thus it was that Subhas transformed the Indians from the way of passivity (*Nivrittimarg* of Middle Ages) to the track of dedicated action - a characteristic orientation investing the many spheres of Indian life with a fiery zeal and a sense of mission.

Subhas is no more. But his ideas and ideals would remain the beacon of all for all time to come.

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WAS SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE A FASCIST?

Harihar Panda

The dream of Subhas Chandra Bose to achieve India's independence by joining hands with the Axis powers speaks a sensational story of heroism and patriotism of a son ever produced by the soil of Orissa. This rarest of rare achievements which Bose tried to accomplish in association with Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito not only raised eyebrows of the contemporary world but gave a strategic blow to the British hegemony on Indian soil. His untiring and expert guidance to the INA and unfurling the tricolour flag at Kohima showed that the days of British exploiters are numbered in India. However, his mysterious death in a plane crash in 1945, though took away the mortal body of Netaji, but his gallantry remained and remains as an uneffaceable spot in the mind of the millions of people of India. After independence, with the gradual march of time, Netaji was branded as a Fascist by his critics due to his association with the Axis powers and sometimes, acting in accordance with their dictums. Here is an humble attempt to have an analysis of the charges levelled against this immortal hero of India's struggle for freedom.

A follower of socialism out and out, Subhas Chandra Bose did not admire the way Gandhiji projected the demand of the Indians in the Second Round Table Conference held at London in 1931. Subhas was harping upon the issue of granting Swaraj to India by the British authorities and it is well known how he was arrested and confined in the Presidency jail at Calcutta. His fasting, ultimate release, remaining in his ancestral house in Elgin Road, Calcutta under strict surveillance by the Police, and leaving home on 17 January, 1941, travelling through Peshawar, Kabul, Moscow, and reaching Berlin on 28 March 1941... appear as the

works of a magician. Here, amidst the World War II, he negotiated with Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito and started his heroic mission to free India from the British clutch.

His interaction with Hitler, Mussoline and Hirohito led a leading journalist of Russia to comment him as "........a fascist rogue."[1] However, Bose was realist and was seriously thinking to oust the British Government from India. Moving through the ideology that 'enemy's enemy is one's friend', he had joined hands with the Axis powers against Great Britain. He had, of course, never accepted fascist imposition for accomplishing his task. In his words :

> "All my life I have been a servant of India and in the future years of my life I shall remain so. My allegiance and loyalty has ever been or will be to India and India alone...."[2]

He further told :

> "I am not an apologist of the Tripartite powers, my concern is with India and India alone".[3]

The opponents of Bose level another charge against him that as he was an instrument in the hand's of the Axis powers, the latter extended help to Bose. According to them Subhas was simply dancing according to the tune of the Axis powers. If the Axis powers would have won victory in the World War II, then India would have definitely come under their grip. Instead of British rule, there would have lasted the rule of either Germany or Italy or Japan or three in one. So Subhas was a tool, a puppet and an instrument in the hands of the fascist power whose sole aim was authoritarianism. If Subhas would have become successful in his mission, then fascism must have griped India. The above charge can be substantially refuted. Bose had once told :

"Only that man can be a puppet who has either no sense of honour and self-respect or desire to build-up a position for himself through the influence of others. Not even my worst enemy can dare to say that I am capable of selling national honour and self-respect. Not even my worst enemy can dare to assert that I was a nobody in my country and I needed foreign help to secure a position for myself."[4]

The followers of Subhas Bose had the same thing to tell. They also never thought of the fact that Subhas would be an instrument in the hands of the fascists. S.A. Iyre, the Minister of Propaganda in the Provisional Government of Azad Hind reserved his opinion on Bose as such:

"The man who refused to have India's freedom except on his own terms, that man might be anything else but certainly no tool in anybody's hands. Nothing was dearer to him...... than India's independence but he was prepared to do without it if the price asked for was a compromise on any principle."[5]

Fascism puts emphasis on militarism. Subhas Bose was an ardent champion of militarism. Like all Axis powers, Bose also had resorted to aggressive militarism. It is never a fact that by coming under the spell of the fascist, Bose had adopted this as a means to achieve the end i.e independence of India. The analysis of his life shows that quite after some years of his joining in the Congress, Bose had adopted militarism as a way of his life only to oust the British authorities from this land. His Forward Bloc was, to a greater extent, a revolutionary party tuned up as per the direction of Subhas. However, Subhas could clearly foresee that its future was dark because it could hardly withstand the wrath of the Congress party which had vehemently opposed it from its very inception. Fully realising that Subhas could not give a toe fight to the British authorities through the Forward Bloc, he left India,

created Free India Army in Germany and later, the Indian National Army in South-East Asia to fight against the British Government in India. Though the method of the fascist and Subhas was same but their goals were differences. While the former wanted to subjugate the world by imposing upon it their racial superiority, the latter wanted simply to free his mother land (India) from the authority of the British. It was an example of burning nationalism which prompted Bose to resort to militarism and fascism had little role to play in this regard.

"Faith, obedience and fight Il *Duce* is always right". Thus goes the fascist doctrine. Fascism envisages that "the leader" of the fascist party is a dictator and he should be outrightly supported. It is famous party in the fascist doctrine. The critics of Subhas Chandra Bose point out that Subhas was a fascist and he had a long cherished desire to establish fascist rule in India. They quote Subhas who had clearly stated :

> "....' Dictatorship of the party' both before and after Swaraj in won - that must be our slogan for the future."[6]

However, an indepth analysis of the above words of Subhas Bose in relation to his other addresses[7] clearly show that he had envisaged the ways which were to be adopted in future. To him after the overthrow of the British Government, there would be utter lawlessness in the country. The party which had played a vital role in freeing India from the British clutch must play a significant role in restoring law and order in the Country through aggressive militarism. Then national unity, fraternity, peace, stability and so on would follows. Of course, it would be a temporary phase and then democracy would be the way of India's political life when every kind of bondage would have broken and people would have become really free.[8] Further, Bose had

attached priority to Fundamental Rights of men which a fascist leader could hardly recommend.

With his firm faith on militarism, Subhas was able to establish the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind. Through rigorous discipline, Bose controlled it. This had led his critics to comment that Subhas was a dictator. Through his contact with the fascist leaders, he had developed a sense of authoritarian outlook and implemented it in every field he desired. On the working of the Provisional Government under the direction of Subhas Bose, Huge Toye comments as such :

> "He suspended all elections for the duration of the war, and ordered the expulsion of anyone not whole heartedly co-operating in counter propaganda....... He behaved more and more like a dictator"[9]

The above statement of Toye suggest that Subhas was a dictator. It was only because, during the World War II, Subhas tried to handle the Provisional Government with discipline so that their would not be any confusion in the Government and it would foster new vim and vitality among the soldiers of INA to march ahead and achieve their goal. Actually, Subhas was not so. S.A. Ayre, the Minister of Publicity and Propaganda in the Azad Hind Government clearly states that Subhas was never arbitrary in taking decision except a few cases, rather he was very carefully listing to his friends and admiring their opinion.[10]

A survey of the life and career of Subhas Chandra Bose clearly shows that he had only one-pointed goal- i.e. freedom of India from the British hands. To achieve that goal, he want even to join hands with the fascists. From Kitty Kurti's observation[11] it becomes apparent that for practical reasons Bose would have

joined his hands with the Communists as he did with the fascists. His association with Hitler as J.H. Voigt envisages[12] was never an indication of his support to Hitler, rather, it was a gesture to gain German support in favour of India's independence. "He never let his associates feel that he was in any way superior to them".[13] Subhas had developed anti-British feeling in his mind right from his child-hood days as has been very rightly observed by Hiren Mukherjee.[14] With growing age, when he cut off relation with Indian National Congress and realised that the Forward Bloc, being opposed by the National Congress cannot fulfil his desire, Bose left India and collaborated with Axis powers to free his mother land from British dominance. To brand Subhas Bose as a fascist shall definitely be a misnomer. He was undoubtedly a hero, the Beloved 'Netaji' of the millions of Indians, who dedicated his life in the alter of india's struggle for independence.

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THE VOLCANIC FORCE AMONG INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS:MAULAVIZIAUDDIN, SIGNOR ORLANDO MAZZOTTA, COMMANDER MATSUDA *alias* SUBHAS BOSE

Bijoyini Mohanty*

When British left their Indian colony, a number of causes contributed to their unwilling departure. At least one of these factors was humiliation of the British in international spheres on the issue of how Indians looked upon the British administration from activities of Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army. The other causes were the strong determination of Indian people to achieve independence peacefully under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, the revolt of the Royal Indian Navy and Indian Forces those disheartened the British reliance and confidence and fianally, complicating relationship with India as British market and food source. Incidentally, Orissa happens to be the proud birth place of the greatest vibrant freedom fighter of the nation, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

He was born on 23 January 1897, the year when the British Empire was at its peak of power and achievement and was celebrating with great pomp and ceremony the Diamond Jubilee of the accession of Queen Empress Victoria to British throne. Subhas was born at Cuttack, the capital of Orissa Division of Bengal Presidency, as the 9th child and the 6th son from among the 14 children of his father Janaki Nath Bose and mother Pravabati Devi. The presence of so many elder brothers and sisters seemed to relegate him to utter insignificance so much so that he started life with a sense of diffidence and with a feeling that he should live up to the level already attained by those who had

preceded him. He entered the Baptist Missionary School, Cuttack in 1902 and Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack in 1909. His headmaster, Babu Beni Madhab Das inculcated in this would be greatman a love for nature, social and moral responsibility. No doubt, Subhas had been a voracious reader in his life, active and vibrant with trends of leadership which has precipitated as Oaten affairs in Presidency College, Calcutta. He had tremendous love to serve the Orissa devastated by cholera which he had done in the year 1916 when he was on leave from his studies.

He was out and out a patriot. He did not aspire the luxury of an I.C.S. officer which he qualified ranking four in merit in the entire British Empire. In a letter to his elder brother Sarat on 22 September 1920, he wrote, "Indian Civil Service can bring one all kinds of worldly comforts, but are not these made at the expense of one's soul? I think it is hypocrisy to maintain that the highest ideals of one's life are compatible with subordination to the conditions of service which an I.C.S. man has got to accept". He was the first Indian ever to have resigned from the prestigious I.C.S. Some Cambridge Professors also met him and asked him to reconsider his decision. His idea to serve the country, his foresight of Imperial service under British against the interest of India and confusion to serve under two masters, the Indian and the British deliberated two options: 'either chunk this rotten service or dedicate wholeheartedly to country's cause."

He had sensed the national flow of consensus to dissociate from civil service under the British as evidenced by the Resolution of Congress Working Committee, Bombay, lately in 5 October, 1921 as:

"It is contrary to the national dignity for any Indian to serve as a civilian and more specially as a soldier under a Government which has brought about India's economic, moral and political

degradation and... it is the duty of every Indian soldier and civilian to sever his connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood"

Resigning his I.C.S., he left Great Britain and reached Bombay on 16 July 1921 and in the same afternoon met Mahatma Gandhi at Mani Bhavan. He did not felt at ease then as he wore foreign suit whereas all other in and around Mani Bhavan wore nothing except Khadi in an sphere of boycott of foreign clothes. He, of course, apologised for wearing the foreign dress and Bapu put him at ease to go on with a conversation on national issue. He struck at three pertinent questions relating to last stages of freedom struggle with British yielding power:

1. How Congress would ultimately arrive at last stage of refusal to pay taxes and land revenue?

2. Whether the Civil Disobedience could compel British to leave India?

3. How could he achieve his declared 'swaraj in one year'?

Subhas was only satisfied with the answer to his first question but felt gloomy on his two subsequent questions. Subhas consoled himself that either Bapu did not want to part with his secrets or was not clear of his future tactics. He was directed to meet C.R.Das, who entrusted the spirited young Subhas with responsibilities of Head of National Volunteer Corps, in charge of Publicity Department of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and Principal of the newly founded National College. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was his political *guru* and Subhas admired his proverbial generosity, incisive intellect and broad-mind but maintained his own independent thought and foresight.

The 1924 Municipal election C.R.Das was elected as Mayor of Calcutta Municipal Corporation. Subhas at the age of 27

became the Corporation's youngest commissioner. He proved to be a capable administrator with the work culture he could evolve. Most of the roads, streets and parks in Calcutta city were named after great sons of the soil. He changed the conventions of the Corporation presenting welcome addresses to Viceroy, Governor and other British dignitaries to great men of India like Mahatma Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru and others whenever they visited. During the first year of his appointment here in Calcutta Municipal Corporation he was imprisoned without any assigned cause.

Subhas was the pioneer of 'Poorna Swaraj' for India since Calcutta Congress. Even the dominion status advocated by Mahatma Gandhi has been commented by Nehru in his autobiography as ' there should be no doubt about the objective of political goal for us, something radically different from the vague and confusing to be of Dominion Status.'

Subhas was made almost an 'exile in Europe' on the ground of treatment for his ill health out of years of internment and prison. He reached Vienna and admitted to Dr. Furth's Sanatorium in March 1933 and though he recovered quite rapidly within weeks, he was confined to Europe up to 1936. During this period he exposed the British activities in international community in greater proportions than what Mahatma Gandhi did during his South Africa stay. As soon as he recovered from his illness, he moved to all corners where the nationalistic activities can be extended. He kept contact with all who were sympathetic to India's freedom struggle. He established an Austro-Indian Society and involved several Austrians influential in cultural and economic spheres. He made quick and ceaseless correspondences with several European authors and scholars like Romain Rolland, delivered numerous lectures and contribute numerous articles to Austrian press. He

could make a real projection of what British was doing inside India and these excited the immoral attitude of British colonial administrators in Europe. He also came in close contact of the diplomatic circles of several countries (Czechoslovakia, Poland and some more) and held long political parleys with them. As his passport was valid only for Vienna, he could not go to London to deliver his marvelous presidential speech on 'strategy for fight against the British' in Indian Political Conference in London in May 1933, but his speech was only read in *absentia*.

Subhas visited Berlin in July 1933 by elaborate arrangements of Indo-German Society and the German Foreign Office. He declined to be a guest of German Government but his object of visit was to discuss the German policy towards India and India's struggle for freedom. At the beginning the Germany was not with any adverse attitude for British and German press was in favour of them. He could motivate the dissidents of Nazi Party to supply technical equipment to the revolutionary organisations in Bengal. Dr. Goebbels had issued directives to create difficulties for the British in India and to promote discontent amongst the Indians. Subhas was stunned to hear Radio Germany broadcasting the speech of Hitler praising the British system of administration in India in 1934. Reacting to this event he refused the civic reception organised by the Nazi Party in Munich with a version that 'when Hitler was free to lick the British boots, he was not prepared to accept a civic reception from his Government'. This made stir in European Press as nobody dared to speak with so straight forward frankness on Hitler. Hitler promptly amended his statement that he did not mean to praise the British Administration in India.

He had published his autobiography entitled 'The Indian Struggle, 1920-34' in London on 17 January 1935 which was of

very high opinion in all leading British newspapers. This book made it clear that Subhas had rejected the way of cooperation and constitutionalism and the compromises of a wavering movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. He opted for a new way for India, the one adopted by Mustafa Kamal Pasha in transforming Oriental Turkey into a modern state.

His book, *The Indian Struggle,* was highly appreciated by President De Valera of Ireland who sent a message to Subhas Bose expecting a near future freedom and happiness to be bestowed on the people of India. In 1936, Subhas Bose visited Ireland which among all the European countries was very keen on India's independence. Subhas had met President De Valera who had successfully led the Irish Revolution and created Irish Free State from the clutches of British. The Irish President was very sympathetic to India and was prepared to extend any help that India wanted to free her from British yoke. He was willing to appeal to the international community on British administration and the outcome. Subhas published a number of articles in Irish newspapers on repressive measures adopted by British Imperialists.

Subhas's aim was to expose the British India's miseries to the conscience of the first shrinking communicative World. Why India will continue to be a blind land of isolation ? Above all these will bring to lime light the true policies they followed in India though they pictured differently to the learned community of West. The real target and progress of Indian freedom fighters will be known to the world. This can halt the false British propaganda and enlighten the world opinion about the real conditions those prevailed.

There was a tenuous concord between Gandhi-Subhas on the manner each one proposed to deal with British bent down in

1938 by imminent World War II. Bose considered the intensification of war in Europe will provide opportunity for attacking British imperialism in India. But his views were not shared by the Congress high Command, some members of which had terms with the British Government. He had said, "India's immediate requirements were an uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism and methods of struggle more effective than what Mahatma Gandhi had produced".

When Gandhi's Congress presidential candidate was Dr. Pattavi Sitaramaya, as a contestant for president of Congress Subhas was confident and in fact he got 1580 votes - a lead of 205 over Sitaramaya's 1375. Some unhappy proceedings victimised this democratically elected president of Congress and he resigned on 29 May 1939. In spite of Jawaharlal Nehru's persuasions he did not continue as Gandhiji did not want him to continue. Subhas was disgusted with the post of president of Congress or Bengal Provincial Congress Committee due to out of tune of the Old Guard of Congress (Mahatma Gandhi) with realities and the sentiments of the overwhelming mass of people. He expressed, "The more I think of Congress Politics, the more I am convinced that in future we should devote more energy and time to fight the High Command,".

Though imprisoned eleven times earlier, he felt very much restless in the twelfth time in 1940 as he felt the British will not release him this time when Mother India wanted him at this juncture of world's war situation to reap some advantages in her favour. At least the British with their relationship with Germany, Italy and Japan can be cornered and removed out of the Indian boundary. He had no other way than serving an ultimatum of fast unto death inside jail. The British was scared as the responsibility of the death of this first rank national leader may fall on them. So, he was released and interned in his father's house at Elgin Road,

Calcutta, guarded by 62 CID of Bengal in civil dress round the clock vigil. He confused the British thought by declaration of his plan to renounce the world and to go to The Himalayas or Pondicherry. But disguised as a bearded Muslim named Maulavi Ziauddin he left for Kabul via Delhi and Peshwar with hurdles at each step. Finally he could contact the German Embassy and by help of Italian Embassy, in the passport name of Signor Orlando Mazzotta, he reached Berlin on 28 March 1941.

In Germany he impressed with his deep commitments to the cause of India's independence, Adolf Hitler was convinced of India's importance in world politics. He organised the 'Indian Legion' (consisting of army dedicated to liberation of India, radio broadcast and establishment of 'Free Centres'). The Indian Prisoners of War were debriefed for such an army. Since his arrival in Berlin, he had been persuading the German, Italian and Japanese Governments to declare officially their support for India's independence, which of course, came very late in the Tripartite Agreement.

The Japanese, after victory over the British areas in Hongkong, Singapore and Burma, wanted Subhas to lead the march to India. During such a war his voyage from Berlin to Far East was possible only by 3 months journey in the submarine as *Commander Matsuda.* He was assured by Japanese Premier, Tojo in Diet on 16 June 1943, "We are indignant about the fact that India is still under the relentless suppression of Britain and are in full sympathy with the desperate struggle for independence. We are determined to extend every possible assistance to the cause of India's independence. It is our belief that the day is not far off when India will enjoy freedom and prosperity after winning independence."

Subhas was a thunderbolt on the British. The British were nervous at the arrival of Netaji in the East. Then a message for the British from United States warned',,, A former Congress President with a large following in India, an able leader, widely

considered to be a sincere patriot, he would have little difficulty in persuading the hesitant that an opportunity was at hand to drive the British from India'. The Commander-in-Chief of British forces in India told the Secretary of State for India that Subhas 'cannot be dismissed as a mere loquacious tool of the Japanese. Bose had a personality capable of infecting others with his own enthusiasm'.

He had constituted the 'Azad Hind Government' in Singapore with a number of departments namely, General, Finance, Publicity and Propaganda, Intelligence, Recruitment and Training with addition of seven new wings e.g. Health and Social Welfare, Women's Affairs, National Education and Culture, Reconstruction, Supply, Overseas, Housing and Transport. He was the Supreme Commander of Indian National Army which started its operations on 4 Feb 1944 in Arkan Sector and on 15 March 1944 in Imphal Kohima. Weather devastated the immediate proposals of the March and they have to face a retreat. Under tragic circumstances, he was said to have been burnt and died on accident of an ill-fated plane at Taipei that was taking off Taipei airport at 2 PM on 18 August 1945 though the Domai News Agency broadcasted his death only 5 days after on 23 August 1945.

This great hero of India was a horror to the British. The latter had no other alternative than to make satisfactory negotiations with the Indian National Congress on granting a full independence status to India. He along with his international accomplishes is evaluated as the major contributor to the causes why the British could be forced away from their most gratifying colony. Subhas Bose is the daring nationalist with indomitable courage, impressible patriotism, great military strategist and at the 50th Year of Nation's Independence we are enchanted by the greatest drama and suspense he staged in India's Freedom Movement.



SUBHAS BOSE AND KOHIMA-IMPHAL EXPEDITION (1944)

Soma Chand

Call him 'Desh Nayak' (Tagore)or 'modern Ulysses' (Hayashida), an impartial enquiry into Subhas Bose's achievements can be evaluated in either of the two ways or both. As a macro study, this can be done vis-a-vis the entire scenario of the Indian Freedom struggle; or, microscopically, his singular successes can be seen in their individual perspectives. The aim of this paper is to look at the Kohima-Imphal expedition of the I.N.A in 1944.

Giving a slip to the British intelligence hawks, he vanished from the Indian soil in 1941. Proceeding through northern India and Afghanistan, he managed to meet the Axis heroes - Hitler and Mussolini - who were very much convinced with his cause. Even the German foreign minister Ribbeontrop, Field Marshal Romel were prepared to extend their whole hearted cooperation. But Subas was aware of the emergence of Japan as a super power in the South East Asian politics. Just six days after his arrival in Berlin on 9 April 1941, he sent a long secret report to the German leaders entitled "Role of Axis Powers and the Possible Cooperation of India" where he categorically emphasised the importance of Japan as a belligerent power against the British.

Ultimately he arrived in Japan in 1943 from Europe after ninety days of dangerous sub-marine voyage through the enemy infested waters to launch his campaign for India's freedom. Once he reached Japan, he showed super human skill in organising the Indian National Army raising the inferior elements to a magnificent

stature in South East Asia, a region under colonial hegemony craving for its own political identity.

The meeting of Subhas Bose with the Japanese Premier Tojo on 10 June 1943 is indeed very significant because after the meeting Netaji did not have to look back. Tojo was struck by not only his depth of knowledge and oratory but by his iron will reflected through his eyes and granite desire expressed through his voice. ("Netaji...and Japan",100)

A provisional government called Azad Hind Government was formed on 21 October 1943. As the President, he took the oath saying, "I swear by God that I will do my best to emancipate India and its 380 million people. I will abide by this oath till my death." (Hayashida, 58)

Within a few days of the formation of this provisional government independent countries like Germany, Croatia, China (Nanking), Manchukuo, Burma, Philipines, Italy, Japan and Shyam gave their recognition. As a mark of friendship, Tojo gave him the authority of 'Andaman and Nicober Islands' to the Azad Hind Government. It was renamed as Independent and Swaraj Islands. But due to the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese naval authorities, the Azad Hind Government became master only by name and not by practice. Yet it was not merely a puppet government in the Japanese hands as claimed by the British and their allies - a fact accepted by the recent Western researchers. (Peter Fey, 260-261)

Within ten months of the formation of the government a new lease of life was inflicted into the dry veins of a weak army who were now prepared to implement the plan and programme of their leader. On 7 January 1944, the Azad Hind Government proceeded to Rangoon because Netaji had planned to use Burma as a springboard for his military operations in India. He visited Andaman and Nicober islands where he reiterated his

determination to save the region from their age-old humiliation and develop it as an integral part of India. Lt. Col. A.D.Loknathan was appointed as the Chairman of Administrative Preparatory Committee. A Japanese-Indo-Burmese military liaison group was formed for facilitating the joint operation of I.N.A and the Japanese army. By early March, three divisions under the Japanese 15th Army Command had been deployed on the left bank of the Chindoween river. Of these, the 31st division was deployed so as to aim at Kohima, north of Imphal. Lt. Gen. Mutaguchi was in overall charge of the Kohima-Imphal expedition.

It was the desire of Subhas Bose that the I.N.A. with its thirty thousand strong infantry and twenty thousand trained volunteers would fight separately from different areas of the frontier. He wanted the I.N.A to fight in the Arkan regions so that from there it would spread to Chattagram (now in Bangladesh) and then to whole of Bengal by guerilla tactics. Then getting local support, they would rampage airfields, train lines and other routes of communication. He had in his mind the memories of the Battle of Remu where the Burmese army had humiliated the British. (Bannerji, 358)

The accuracy of his plans bore its result during the first phase of the "Operation U", which was the blueprint of the Japanese attack on Kohima-Imphal where to sidetrack the Britishers, first attack was made on the Arkan frontiers and the second phase would be Kohima-Imphal annexation.

In the first phase, one battalion of the I.N.A. under Major R.C.Raturi occupied the Moudak areas with such extraordinary skill that the Divisional Commander of the British army Gen. Frank Massarvee was disqualified from service till September 1944. (Barker,85)

When Subhas could not get the promised support and assistance from the Japanese chiefs, he wanted to spread the campaign to the plains of Assam including Dimapur, because he was well aware that once he could reach there his unbounded popularity would automatically accelerate his progress. And Dimapur being a central place, there would be no dearth of food and other supplies. Even though Tojo and Mutaguchi had positive attitudes, it could not be worked out in the long run due to the rejection of this plan by many of the Japanese officers. Had this plan been implemented, the course of the Indian Freedom Struggle could have been different. (Pandit, 246-247)

The stubborn attitude of some of the Japanese officials also astonished the British generals because Dimapur happened to be the feedback area for the British army. The Commander of the British 14th Regiment Lt. Gen. W.J.Sleam writes in his book "Defeat unto Victory" about the absurd conceptions of the Japanese officials which turned the table for the British. When the Japanese were unnecessarily wasting their precious time at Kohima, Sleam immediately brought two platoons of Anglo-American troops by air and caught the war-torn I.N.A. soldiers from behind. Netaji's dream was thus shattered to pieces.

In spite of the failure of Netaji's dream, that Subhas Bose had tremendous support from the general public is evident from the proceedings of the National Defence Council held at New Delhi on 1 July 1943 where the I.N.A. soldiers were referred to as spies, traitors and fifth columnists. Subhas Bose himself was named as hero of fifth columnists, traitor and Tojo's dog' in a report by the-then Chief Secretary of Assam, H.G. Denchy.

In all government, military and intelligence reports, the I.N.A. soldiers were named *JIFFS* meaning Japanese Inspired

Fifth Columnist Spies and the parachute wing of the I.N.A. was named BATS meaning Burma Area Turned Spies. The government announced huge rewards to catch either the JIFFS or the BATS. The government also opened a counter movement called 'Operation Denial' to spread anti-I.N.A information. Pro-British bureaucrats and those members of Congress and the Communist Party who were averse to Subhas Bose on personal grounds joined hands with the British government to make a mockery of the trial of the I.N.A. soldiers at Red Fort.

It is evident from contemporary government records that "Operation U" was successful at its initial stage before the Kohima-Imphal expedition so much so that Major Lakshan Swarup Mishra was awarded the title *Sardar-i-Jung* by the Azad Hind government. (Giyan, 115-116) More surprisingly from 28 March (where Kohima operation was inaugurated) upto 31 March, the entire road between Dimapur and Imphal was controlled by the Japanese army and the I.N.A. The then Deputy Commissioner Charles Pawsey has mentioned in the official records that seize of Kohima was unsuccessful no doubt, but for a slightest chance Kohima city proper, market and villages were under their control except the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner as it was a top. (Reports of Charles Pawsey, 1946) The feedback centre of the army was totally detached. If they would have defeated the battallion, Dimapur would have come under their direct occupation. And from there they would have straight forward entered to plains of Assam, because by that time sufficient soldiers were not there at Dimapur. (The same report by Pawsey) And Subhas exactly wanted this.

On 8 April, from the general Imperial headquarters of Japan about the dual attack the following declarations were made.

i) Our crack troop fighting side by side with I.N.A. captured Kohima early on 6 April.

ii) Our attack on the enemy's airborne troops in the Kata area is moving along smoothly. (Hayashida)

During the dark days of the British people a handful of Gorkha regiment, few hundreds of British soldiers and some exceptional patriots like Pawsey getting help from the local stuff and Naga Labour Corps totally reversed the situation (Campbell). After the war all of them were heavily rewarded by the British government.

Thus the ill fated campaign from lofty dreams doomed to failure due to miscalculation of the Japanese authority. If 1857 revolt is regarded as the first War of Indian Independence, the Kohima-Imphal campaign can be treated as the last in the category. The exuberance of chivalry and patriotism by the demoralised elements of neglected Indian soliders makes its own place in annals of independent India.

Fifty years after independence, researchers continue to make threadbare analysis of Netaji's operations. In an age when mass hystoria is at its peak against nuclear warfare - for example, Americans still search for their brethrens' mementous lost during the Vietnam war - it is a heartbreaking fact that two of the world's earliest atom bombs put an end to the World War II. In this connection, Netaji's planned march to the plains of Assam and undivided Bengal might not have changed the course of Indian history overnight. Yet, all said and done, it is such rare feats - the likes of Tipu Sultan to Subhas Bose - that make history and are remembered by the coming generations with awe and reverence.

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NETAJI'S LAST JOURNEY

Rajib Lochan Sahoo

After the Japanese surrender on 15th August 1945 Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose did not loose faith in himself and his cherished hope to liberate India from the British rule .In his special order of the day following Japanese surrender on 15th August 1945 to the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauz, Netaji said, "Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour,thirty eight crores of our countrymen at home are looking at us, the members of India's Army of Liberation.Therefore ,remain true to India and do not for a moment waver in your faith in India"s destiny. The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal.The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and of yourselves will certainly achieve their fulfilment. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long".He further tried to strengthen the moral of the Indians in East Asia in his message of 16th August 1945 saying "Donot be depressed at our temporary failure. Be of good cheer and keep up your spirits.Above all never for a moment falter in your faith in India's destiny.There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved.India shall be free and before long."

But immediately after the Japanese surrender,Netaji was advised by his colleagues to leave Singapore and escape from being captured by the British. Netaji agreed as he was hopeful to get Russian help and carry out his fight for India's independence. Therefore, he left Singapore for Bangkok on 16th August 1945 accompanied by Habib-ur-Rahman, Major Pritam Singh and S.A. Ayer. At Bangkok, Debnath Dass, Col. Gulzara Singh and Major Abid Hussain joined them. Though initially the Japanese High command was against Netaji's plan to go to Russia yet the senior

Japanese officials showed keen interest to help him to escape to Russia. A few Japanese officials like General Shideo, the head of the Hitakari Kikan, the Japanese Liasion group and the Japanese Ambassador to the Provisional Azad Hind Government and Mr. Hachiya also accompanied Netaji in his journey. They all flew from Bangkok to Saigon in two planes on 17th August 1945. After their arrival at Saigon Netaji was informed that a plane was ready to proceed to Darein from where he had the best hope to go to Russia. But only one seat was available. His colleagues insisted him not to miss the opportunity and they can try to join him later. However,with great difficulty another seat was made available in the plane and Col. Habib-ur-Rahman was selected to accompany Netaji. The plane left Saigon on 17th August. That night they all halted at Toorane (Indo-china). Next day they flew to Taipeh.Befor they arrived in Taipeh, information was reiceved that the Russians had occupied Port Arthur and it was feared that they might be in Dairen before long. It became all the more necessary to reach there as quickly as possible. The weather was perfect. They arrived at Taipeh at about noon. After a very short halt the plane tookoff. Due to the desire of many Japanese to get away, the load limit of the plane was exceeded with thirteen passengers on board as against the maximum limit of nine. Needless to say the plane was overloaded . After a short but steep ascent, when the plane was hardly a hundred feet above the ground in Taipeh Aerodrome a loud explosion was heard and the plane tilted to the left and crashed headlong to the ground catching fire. This was the most unfortunate day, the 18th of August 1945. The aircraft that crashed was a heavy bomber belonging to the Japanese Third Air-Force. It was boarded by 13 persons including the crew and passengers i.e.,

1.	Pilot	W/O Aoyagi
2.	Associate Pilot	Major Takizawa
3.	Navigator	Sgt.Okita
4.	Radio Operator	N.C.O. Tominaga
5.	Gun operator	Unindentified N.C.O.
6.	Lt. General Shideo	
7.	Lt. Col .Sakai	
8.	Lt. Col .Shiro Nonogaki	
9.	Major Taro Kono	
10.	Major Iwao Takahashi	Staff Officer.
11.	Capt.Keikichi Arai	Air- Force Enginer.
12.	Subhash Chandra Bose.	
13.	Col. Habib-ur-Rahman.	

Lt.General Shideo and the Associate Pilot Maj.Takizawa were killed on the spot. Netaji, the Pilot, W/O Aoyagi and two others died in the hospital. Habib-ur-Rahman and six others survived the crash. According to Habib-ur-Rahman who was injured in the crash but was with Netaji in his last moment, a few minutes before his death in the hospital Netaji said "Habib, I feel I shall die soon. I have fought for India's freedom till the last. Tell my countrymen India will be free before long. Long live free India."

Many do not believe in the plane crash on 18th August 1945 that proved fatal to one of our country's greatest hero. But it is impossible to believe that if Netaji did not die he would have remained silent and inactive for such a long period after India attained

Independence. Initially the British Goverment also did not believe in the death news of Netaji. Lord Wavel, the then Viceroy of India, wrote in his diary dt. 24th August 1945, "I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air-crash is true, I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground". Wavell ordered to make most careful enquiries about the incident. Most shockingly but not surprisingly, he recorded the British sentiment on Subhas by saying "If it is (the death of Netaji) true it will be a great relief. His disposal would have presented a most difficult problem."

Needless to say, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose became a victim of growing British repression for leading the movement for independence of our motherland. But the dreams of Netaji eventually came true and India won independence. The nation is paying its deepest respect and gratitude to the beloved leader "Netaji" in his birth centenary year which coincides with the Golden Jubilee celebration of India's Independence.

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INDIA TODAY AND NETAJI SUBHAS

Shridhar Charan Sahoo

Indian Society is characterised by a bewildering spectrum of diversities based on religion, language, caste and culture. In such a canvas of diversity and heterogeneity, we need to develop an integrative political culture for the larger interest of Indian unity and integration. In fact, how to build up a strong nationalist identity that could naturally transcend and subserve smaller identities of caste, culture, language, religion and region presents a natural challenge even to-day.

During our freedom struggle, a sense of unity and solidarity developed among our people facilitated by our common fight against British imperialism. But most unfortunately, this bond of unity could not be effective enough to frustrate the British policy of divide and rule and the rising tide of minority communalism. Ultimately, it resulted in the disintegration of the nation and partition of the country. As an independent nation, the Indian state had also to confront divisive and disintegrating forces of communalism, regionalism, linguistic chauvinism and casteism.

There is now a per-ceptible global trend to recognize and respect smaller ethnic identities based on religion, language and culture. It is a time of academic discourse on autonomy and freedom to states from central hegemony and control. It is found that those democratic trends and symptoms with macro-focus have come to the centrestage of politics and political science and rightly acquiring academic legitimacy.

But it is unfortunate that concepts of nationalism and national identity falling on the macro level - - at the level of the nation- state, have been put to a cold storage of academic

oblivion. In a plural and multi-ethnic country like India where people of so many castes, religions and languages live together under one roof, the importance of nationalism and national identity as a uniting and binding thread will always remain. Hence, what is of necessity in the contextual specificity of the Indian situation is to promote, advance and internalise a political culture of integral and intergrative nationalism among the Indian people where by loyalty to India and its larger interest remains uppermost in their mind and psyche and which transcends their peripheral loyalty to their caste, community, religion and region.

Netaji Subhas Chandran Bose was the torch-bearer of such an integrative and integral concept of nationalism. The purpose of the essay is to bring out those facets of his philosophy of nationalism and style of secular-nationalist leadership which have their relevance even today from the stand point of India's unity and integration. Those facets of his philosophy of nationalism may be treated as an ideal model even for the sake of an ideal though of course it would be too simplistic to believe that it could be an unfailing prescription to cure the cancer of divisive forces of casteism, communalism and regionalism which have their deep roots in the Indian soil.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who was basically an uncompromising and relentless fighter for national liberation, was not an ordinary nationalist but a nationalist of deeper hue with a far-sighted vision. The nationalist ideas which emanated from his mind for India's national well being and evolution were primarily guided by the consideration of India's vital national interest - its unity nd integrity - its united nationhood. But those were not mere ideas of an ivory-tower idealist but ideas sanctified by practice nnd actualization.

Netaji's philosophy of nationalism may be discussed under the following heads.

(i) **Firm Faith in India's Unity :**

As an ardent nationalist and patriot, subhas was proud of India and its culture and had a firm faith in India's fundamental unity. "Though geographically, ethnologically and historically India presents an endless diversity to any observer -- there is none the less a fundamental unity underlying the diversity,"[1] said Subhas. "The ethnic diversity of India" he further remarked, "has never been a problem -- for throughout her history she has been able to absorb different races and impose upon them one common culture and tradition."[2] He categorically denied in his book "The Indian Struggle" that India for the first time began to experience political unity under British rule. The movement for political unification of India took definite shape from the six century B.C. reaching its fulfilment in the next era when Maurya emperors were able to unify India politically for the first time and establish an empire. This process of political unification continued during the Gupta period, during the regime of King Harsha and later on under Akbar under whom apart from political unification, "a new cultural synthesis was achieved".[3]

(ii) **Separation of Religion from his politics and nationalism:**

• Subhas not only believed in India's fundamental unity but engaged his mind and attention to its retention in a free India. As a farsighted nationalist, he looked to the plural and multi-ethnic society of India and realised that use of religion in politics or religion as a means of political mobilization may generate divisive forces. Hence, inspite of being a very religious man, he

disapproved of intermingling of religion and religious issues in politics and stood for separation of religion from his nationalism. It may be pointed out that religion to him was absolutely a private matter of belief and strictly a personal affair. As a matter of fact, he never spoke of God, religion, divinity or any such thing in public.

As the Head of the State of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Subhas could not appreciate the idea of going to the Hindu Chettion temple at Singapore and grace the *Dussehra* festival. What he significantly said to the priests unfolds his attitude towards the relationship between religion and politics. As he said "The temple was a place of worship and everyman was free to worship as he liked but that religion should not be mixed up with matters of state"[4]

Another example which throws light on his secular nationalist perspective deserves mention. While in Germany, Abid Hasan, a comrade in the I.N.A. approached Subhas to approve of a common prayer in the name of "*Malik*" (which means God) Which was accepted by the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims as the "Best Prayer". Subhas reacted : "What do you mean Best prayer". I do not want religion to be mixed up with this affair at all. Their approach was going to be only on the basis of nationalism. You are going to join them now in the name of religion. They can be divided also in the name of religion. They have got their Gurudwara, they have their Mosques, they have got their temples, anybody who wants can go there. But in my world there is going to be no approach unless it is nationalistic and political".[5]

Jawaharlal Nehru held an identical view with Subhas on the need to keep religion out of politics. He was anguished over the growth of religious element in our politics. He did not like Gandhi's undue stress on the religious and spiritual side of the national movement. "I did not like it at all" "Even Gandhi's frequent reference to *Ram Raj*, as he said "Jarred upon me".[6]

Subhas's disinclination to grace the *Dussehra* festival in the Chettian Hindu temple and his ideal to keep religion out of the bounds of his politics and nationalism epitomised his secularist nationalist vision and perspective.

(iii) **Broad-minded political generosity and magnanimity :**

Subhas believed in a concept of united nationalism --- a synthetic nationalism of Indian people consisting of diverse religious faiths. This being his ideal, Subhas firmly opposed the vivisection of India and was uncompromising in his commitment to a united Indian Nation. For the sake of averting Pakistan, he even suggested that in the event of a joint struggle by the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress taking place "Mr. Jinnah would be the first Prime Minister of free India."[7] This broad minded political generosity reflected his secular nationalist approach for the cause of a united Indian nationhood.

An approach based on broad minded political generosity is of vital necessity in a plural society like ours if we are to flower up an Indian nationhood on a solid emotional foundation. Sometimes, absence of this generosity towards the minority's hopes and aspirations alienates them from the national mainstream and develops a spirit of separatism.

(iv) **A right and proper mindset - Neither domineering nor appeasement - Oriented :**

As a broadminded nationalist with a pragmatic understanding of India and its composite culture, Subhas emphasized the need of a proper mental orientation to deal with the question of Hindu -- Muslim Unity. He realised that a domineering mindset particularly by the majority community instead of solving the problem of communal disunity will aggravate it all the more. He was dead against "domination of any one community by the other[8] and this was the "keynote of Swarajist Policy". The rejection of the Bengal Pact (1923) with its gesture of political generosity by the Coconada Congress distressed Subhas.[9]

But, he also did not favour a policy of appeasement to solve the problem of communal disunity. "The Congress" said Subhas. "Should only care for an agreement between nationalist Hindus and nationalist Muslim --- and that the congress need not bother what other anti-nationalist elements thought or said."[10]

(v) **A Long-term nationalist perspective with a secular Vision :**

During the Azad Hind Movement in Germany and subsequently in South East Asia, Netaji could bring about a wonderful sense of unity among Hindus, Muslims and Sikh. Even Gandhi felt inspired by this remarkable achievement of rebel Subhas and held it out as the national ideal. This unique achievement in actualizing a sense of unity and integration that trascended religion, region, caste and creed was made possible primarily

because of his purely nationalist approach and his secular vision.

The Free India centre which Subhas established in Germany passed four resolutions on 2nd November, 1941 concerning our war cry "Jai Hind" the title of National Hero "Netaji", our National Anthem "Janaganamana" and our National language "Hindustani".

The war cry "Jai Hind" meaning victory to India was the brainchild of Subhas evolved out of his deep study of Indian situation and reality. A war cry must be wholly and fully nationalist and secular in a comprehensive sense which will not belong to any religion, region caste and creed. As has been said, "With Jai Hind as a common national greeting, it was thought possible to bring about unity in diversity and at the sametime remind us our great aim and objective of Free India"[11]

As regards evolving a National Anthem Subhas preferred Janaganamana of R.N. Tagore to Vande Mataram even though he was greatly inspired by the latter which provided the spiritual foundation to his concept of nationalism.

As an enlightened nationalist of deeper hue he realised in course of his evoluation that Vande Mataram might create a sense of grumble and murmuring in that the concept of Mother India or Vande Mataram is associated with Hindu Mother Goddesses. He considered Janaganamana as more suitable since "it defined India more comprehensively as a union of all provinces and religions".[12]

As regards the choice of Hindustani as our common national language he was guided by the consideration that Hindustani as a language is a synthesis between Hindi and Urdu and that it synthesises the sentiments and susceptibilities of two major religious communities. So far as script was concerned Subhas favoured Roman script as it would bring us in line with the rest of the world and at the same time would solve the knotty problem of whether our common language, Hindustani should be written in Devnagari or Arabic characters. Those memorable decisions of Subhas were the net outcome of his matured nationalism taking into account India's plural society. India today needs such leaders of vision who will have the fundamental interest of India, the unity and integration as the framework of decision-making uninfluenced by smaller identities of caste, community religion or region. What we really need is "a National ideology" and "a leader" who not only imparted this ideology to us but" kept a zealous guard that it remained pure in its national approach not tinged with any other sentiment, religious or regional or casteist or any other narrow sentiment for that matter.

(vi) **All India in mental Sweep - A Pan - Indian Vision :**

Subhas followed a deliberate and enlightened policy with a pan-Indian vision that took India as a whole in his mental sweep.

The Indian Legion or the Azad Hind Fauj which he established in Germany was an embodiment of this pan-Indian outlook.

While sending army volunteers to the two training

centres of the Legion, Subhas tried to ensure that both these centres represented a picture of multi-national Indian state. As has been said; "............. the stresses and strains as well as the potentialities of Indian nationalities, religions and castes were visible in cross section and their solution and synthesis became the common interest of all".[13] That apart, he dispensed with the divisive policy of segregation which operated in the British Indian Army. He desired to see a complete dissolution of the units based on religion. Under his leadership, "Indians were united in the smallest tactical unit, the section, regardless of religious profession."[14] Subhas respected everyman for what he was worth and not for the religion or the province he came from. He had many Muslims, Sikhs and Christians in important and strategic assignments in the I.N.A. and in his provisional Government of Azad Hind. As has been testified by S.A. Ayer "There was not the slightest trace of provincialism in Netaji's mind at any stage ----- he took all India in his mental sweep ---. He showed in his deeds, day after day that he was far, far above any such petty considerations like the mother tongue or the birth place of an Indian. That the man was a son of India, was more than sufficient for Netaji."[15]

It is said, "India was always great when her leadership was great and her leadership was great when neither its vision was narrowed by regionality or fanaticism nor when its determination was weak or its purpose vague".[16] Netaji Subhas was such a leader had a vision which was never narrowed by any consideration of region, religion, language or caste. India today needs

such leaders of vision to develop a nationalist identity which could transcend smaller loyalities according supremacy to nationalist interest and nationalist perspective.

(vii) **Non-assimilationist Pluralist perspective to national unity and integration:**

As a nationalist of deeper hue Subhas pondered over the problem of national unity and National integration in India's multi-ethnic plural society. He realised that unity of India can not be built up or sustained on the principle of derecognition of the cultural identity of minorities and their authoritarian induction into the value system and ethos of the majority. Hence he did not favour an assimilationist strategy that involves" abandonment of a minority's social mores and cultural identity and their assimilation into the value system, life style and ethos of the dominant group". He was rather for a pluralist approach which seeks to preserve the ethnic distinctiveness of minorities with a demarcated degree of freedom. This refers to autonomy for ethnic groups whether based on race, religion or language within the framework of India's common economic and political interests.

Accordingly, he advocated the right to autonomy of different languages and cultures and that of different religions and races. As he said in his Presidential address at Haripura in 1938 : " - - - the Congress Policy is one of Live and let live - - - -" a policy of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture, as well as of cultural autonomy for the different

linguistic areas.[17] As he further said : "- - - - only by emphasising our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions. A policy of live and let live in matters religious and an understanding in matters economic and political, should be our objective".[18]

This pluralist perspective which Subhas advocated and championed as the President of the Indian National Congress has rightly been reflected in the Indian Constitution.

Some people and leaders talk of bringing the minorities to the national mainstream. If it is within the pluralist perspective and parameter, then it is right and proper. But if this induction to the national mainstream implies an assimilationist strategy at the cost of religious and cultural identity of the minorities, then it may be the parent of discord and dissension and ultimately might endanger our unity.

(viii) **A multi-faceted strategy of fight against communalism**

Subhas, as has been indicated, was a staunch advocate of India's fundamental unity. He realised that communalism and casteism were great dangers to the maintenance and consolidation of national unity in India. Hence, he launched a lifelong struggle against communalism and casteism in all its manifestations.

He warned the nation time and again about the British policy of "Divide and Rule". He was dead against the separate electorates for Muslims introduced in the Morle - Minto Reforms of 1909. He was equally vociferous

against the communal award of 1932 which sought to introduce separate electorates for depressed classes. He even clearly warned against patition of the country at Haripura as a consequence of British policy of divide and rule.

Subhas deeply pondered over communal troubles and urged the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy for it.

He had a multi-faceted strategy - a plan of his own to fight communalism. He explained this in his Presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference Poone on May 3,1928.

First of all, he underlined the necessity for the "different religious groups to be acquain2ed with the traditions, ideals and history of one another." This acquaintance, in his view, will bring "Cultural intimacy" among different religious groups and "pave the way towards communal peace and harmony".[19]

No religion as such is bad and no religion promotes hatred. Hence, it is necessary to know and understand the truth of each religion so that one does not fall a victim to communal propaganda with a religious garb due to misinformation or misrepresentation by vested interests.

Subhas saw fanaticism as the greatest thorn on the path of cultural intimacy. He prescribed for this the remedy of a "secular and scientific education".[20] This idea of a secular and scientific education which is based on truth and total truth is of vital importance. Even our mind has to be extricated from certain perverted notions

or half truths inculcated in our mind right from our very childhood. As has been said "Aurangzeb who is invariably portrayed as a Muslim bigot made handsome grants to dozens of Hindu shrines and Sikh Gurudwaras and even if he ordered destruction of some Hindu temples, so he did of some Muslim mosques when those were misused." Hence, onesided interpretation of history which paints as anti-Hindu Muslim Rulers and purposely omits their pro-Hindu policies and reverence for Hindu culture need to give place to a secular and scientific education. That Subhas emphasised upon this to rid the mind of communal fanaticism speaks of his far-sighted nationalist outlook and its relevance even to-day.

Apart from taking up communalism from the cultural and educational angle, he also approached the problem from the economic angle. In his view, a secular and scientific education apart from being a remedy for fanaticism will rouse the economic consciousness of the people.

Pointing out that economic consciousness will spell the death of religious fanaticism he said : "There is much more common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim zamindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests be, and once they understand it, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal feuds"[22]

Subhas's fight against communalism was not limited to his speeches or writings. He was an activist par excellence and his was a policy of positive involvement to establish communal harmony. Accordingly Subhas tried hard for a rapproachment

between the Congress and the Muslim League as the Congress President in May - December, 1938. That, apart, the Bengal Congress Committee under his leadership made frantic efforts for a rapprochment with Hindu Mahasabha towards the end of February 1939 and in the middle of April, 1940 in the domain of Civic affairs. It is significant to note that his negotiations were crowned with success not with Hindu Mahasava but with the Muslim League. It was "an excellent collaboration" in Calcutta Corporation in 1940 which was led respectively by Subhas and M.A.H. Ispalni who was later Pakistan's ambassador to U.S.A. and High Commissioner in U.K. Writing about the good work Subhas was doing for establishing better understanding between Hindu and Muslims he said - - - "Had Bose remained in India he would have boldly struck out for Muslim friendship".[23]

Subhas as it were, could win the heart and confidence of Muslims to a degree which possibly none could equal in pre-independent India. Mr. Jinnah recognized that of all the congress leaders Mr. Bose was able to make the greatest impression on him. In his view, he was the "Finest spirit of Indian nationalism" and that there was little about him that smacked of "aggressive Hinduism". Prof. Samar Guha referring to the deep love and admiration that Indian Muslims had for Netaji said: "The legacy of national unity and united martyrdom of the Azad Hind Fauj shook Jinnah during the conjuctive period of 1945-46. He almost totally failed to communally divide the men and officers of Azad Hind Fauj when they were repatriated to India and could not prevent the Indian Muslims from joining pro-I.N.A. agitations then raising all over the country."[24]

Subhas could equally earn the love, admiration and confidence of Sikhs. Prof. Samar Guha rightly records that in late twenties, the Great Martyr Bhagat Singh and his colleagues looked upon him as their leader. He presided over most of the conferences of *Nawjawan Bharat Sabha* of which Bhagat Singh was the leader. Sikh officers fought in the I.N.A. like lions under his captivating leadership. "Netaji is still emotionally respected as the greatest hero of modern India by the people of Punjab - a fact never mentioned by any leader when they are found to be baffled by the problem of Sikh agitations today."[25]

To sum up, Netaji was a nationalist of deeper hue with a far-sighted vision. His philosophy of nationalism and nationalist perspective was guided by the fundamental and vital interest of India's unity and integration. He has left behind him a national ideology and style of secular nationalist leadership which was pure in its national approach untinged with any consideration of religion, region, language, caste or community. The outstanding achievement of Netaji as a nationalist has been beautifully explained by Mahatma Gandhi. In his words "The greatest lesson that we can draw from Netaji's life is the way in which he infused the spirit of unity amongst his men. So that they could rise above all religious and provincial barriers and shed together their blood for the common cause. His unique achievement would surely immortalise him in the pages of history. Every one of Netaji's followers who saw me on their return to India had said to me without exception that Netaji's influence acted like a charm on them and they had acted under him with the single aim of achieving

Indian freedom. The question of religious and provincial or any such difference had never cropped in their minds at all - - - - The greatest and lasting act of Netaji was that he abolished all distinctions of caste and class. He was not a mere Bengali. He never thought himself to be a caste Hindu. He was Indian first and last. What more, he fired all under him with the same zeal so that they forgot in his presence all distinctions and acted as one man".[26]

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CLEANINGS FROM THE AUTOGRAPHY OF SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Sadananda Choudhury

The autobiography of Subhas Chandra Bose was published for the Netaji Publication Society by Thacker, Spink and Co. Calcutta in 1948. This work bearing another name- 'An Indian Pilgrim'- has been presented as part I of the autobiography. It covers the events of Subhas's life from 1897 to 1920. The second and third chapters of the book deal with the history of the Bose family and the Indian political scene before his time. A few words about his father Janaki Nath Bose as given therein are as follows.

After passing the Matriculation examination from the Albert School, Calcutta, Janaki Nath had come to Cuttack where he graduated from the Ravenshaw college. Returning to Calcutta for his law degree, he came back to Cuttak in 1885 and joined the Bar. At Cuttack, he was elected Chairman of its municipality in 1901 and in 1905 appointed as government pleader. In 1912, he had become member of the Bengal Legislative Council and soon after the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred on him. In 1917, he resigned from the post of public prosecutor for his differences with the district magistrate. During the Salt Satyagraha in 1930, he gave up the title of Rai Bahadur as a protest against the repressive policy of the Government. He was a regular visitor to the sessions of the Indian National Congress, but had no active participation in politics. Nevertheless, he was a constant supporter of the *Swadeshi*, *Khadi* and national education. He was all along of a religious bent of mind and received initiation twice, his first *guru* being a '*Sakta*' and the second a '*Vaishnava*'!

Relating to the political atmosphere of India before his time, Subhas refers to the Hindu - Muslim relation and religious and cultural awakening. He writes that "the Muslims have never ceased to play an important role in the public life of the country- whether before or under British rule and that the distinction between - Hindu and Muslim of which we hear so much now a days is largely an artificial creation. History will bear me out when I say that it is a misnomer to talk of Muslim rule when describing the political order in India prior to the advent of the British. Whether we talk of the Moghul emperors at Delhi or of the Muslim kings of Bengal, we shall find that in either case the administration was run by Hindus and Muslims together, many of the prominent cabinet ministers and generals being Hindus". As regards the cultural and religious awakening, he writes about Raja Rama Mohan Ray who through his Brahmo Samaj had brought about a sort of combination of the renaissance and the reformation in India. In continuing the process, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ramakrushna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, sage Aurobindo followed by Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi brought about a synthesis between spiritualism and politics.

Subhas Chandra begins his autobiography as below :

"My father, Janakinath Bose had migrated to Orissa in the eighties of the last century and had settled down at Cuttak as a lawyer. There, I was born on Saturday, the 23rd January 1897." In the first chapter of the book he presents a picture about the mode of communication from Bengal to Orissa and the traditional importance of the town of Cuttack. To reach Orissa from Bengal, one had to travel either by cart running the risk of encounter with thieves and robbers on the road or by sea braving the ravage of winds and waves.

The more common mode of travel was by boat on sea, because 'it was more safer to trust in God than in brother man.' As to the passage by sea, seagoing vessels carried passengers upto Chandabali. From this place steamers sailed to Cuttack through a number of rivers and canals. The experiences of the journey heard from his mother relating to its moments of thrill, anxiety and discomfort made Subhas feel that his "father must have plenty of pluck to leave his village home and go far away in search of a career. Fortune favours the brave even in civil life". This thought must have influenced Subhas later on for his hazardous journey to the world outside in 1941 for the objective of waging India's war of independence from abroad in the midst of the second world war. Cuttack the place of his birth seems to have stretched his mental horizon to its hoary past.-"Though a comparatively small town with a population in the neighbourhood of 20,000, Cuttack had an importance of its own owing to a variety of factors. It had an unbroken tradition since the days of the early Hindu kings of Kalinga. It was de facto capital of Orissa which could boast of such a famous place of pilgrimage as Puri (Jagannath) and such glorious art relics as those of Konark, Bhubaneswar and Udaigiri. It was the head quarters not only for the British administration in Orissa, but also for the numerous ruling chiefs in that province. Altogether, Cuttack afforded a healthy environment for a growing child, and it had some of the virtues of both city and country life." Subhas's love for Cuttack and its surrounding is seen from one of his letters written in reply to his eldest brother who wrote to Subhas from England a letter depicting certain landscapes of that land. Subhas in his letter had written his endearing impressions about the mountain landscape of Naraj on the western tip of Cuttack, where the great river Mahanadi breaks out into two branches embracing the town on its three sides.

In his autobiography, the earliest recollections of Subhas are presented as follows:

Theirs was quite a big family of many elder brothers and sisters - busy and reserved parents. Subhas as a boy cherished for the love of each parents and yearned for their affection. But this, atleast externally, was not there. As a result, Subhas developed a sense of insignificance about himself and diffidence, being sensitive and emotional in temperament. This he believed affected his sense of confidence. Assuming that he lacked innate genius and was just a mediocore, Subhas developed a tendency for hard work. He believed that 'industry and good behaviour are the sole passports to success.' The reserved stance of his parents at home may have contributed to subhas's personality for a greater world outside the limited and narrow groove of home and near-dear ones. At school, Subhas felt that they had been living in two distinct worlds, artificially maintained. " We were told that, because we were Indians, we could not sit for scholarship examinations . ... Anglo-Indian boys could join the volunteer corps and shoulder a rifle, but we could not. Small incidents like these began to open our eyes to the fact that as Indians we were a class apart, though we belonged to the same institution. Then there would be occasional quarrels between English (or Anglo-Indian) and Indian boys which would finish up with a boxing bout in which sympathies would be mobilised along racial lines." From this Subhas must have tested the discomfort of racial arrogance of the ruling race. This may have become one of the determining factors for Subhas's political life. Towards the end of his school career, Subhas had developed a vague feeling of unhappiness of maladaptation in that school. He strongly desire to be admitted in to an indian School where he would feel at home.

In January 1909, came this much sought for change.

Subhas shook hands with his headmaster and said good bye to the school, its teachers and students without any regret or momentary pang for the separation. In January 1910, Subhas joined the Ravenshaw collegiate school at Cuttack. A big and sudden change had come in this beginning stage of his life. In the new atmosphere, he thought better of himself; that he was something and not an insignificant creature. A feeling of self-confidence which till then had been lacking in him now crept into his mind. This was the required sine qua non of all success in life.

The first great influence in Subhas's life came from his Headmaster, Babu Beni Madhab Das, The very first day Subhas saw him taking his rounds in the school, he felt " an irresistible moral appeal in his personality". He felt that to see Beni Madhab Das was to adore him, "that here was a man who was not an ordinary teacher; who stood apart from and above the rest of the tribe". Subhas in his heart of the hearts had set the ideal which was to emulate his headmaster Beni Madhab Das. After a few months came a transfer order for the headmaster. This had brought a brief period of mental anguish for Subhas, because the object of his worship his dear headmaster, was leaving the place. Subhas describes two emotion filled scenes of this period expressing his state of mind. One is the day when the headmaster entered the class room visibly moved. In a voice ringing with emotion he said to the boys: "I have nothing more to say but invoke the blessings of God on you." Subhas writes: "I could not listen any more. Tears rushed to my eyes and I cried out within myself." The classes were dismissed. Boys were leaving the school premises. Subhas, however, walked towards the master's room to have a glimpse of him. He writes : " passing near his room, I suddenly saw him standing in the varandah watching the boys depart." This scene speaks much as to how a deep feeling of separation the affectionate headmaster was having

for his dear boys, one and all, whom he may not see thereafter. Subhas was observing the scene standing close to the master. Soon their eyes met, Subhas now could not contain his eyes' tears which he had restrained inside the class room when the master was speaking to the boys. Seeing Subhas's tears, the master was also moved. Subhas felt paralysed for a moment. Breaking the silence, the headmaster said that they would meet again. Subhas writes : " This was I believe, the first time in my life that I had to weep at the time of parting". The second scene was the farewell meeting for the headmaster, the next day. Relating to the occasion he writes: "When the headmaster spoke in reply, his words seemed to pierce through my soul. I could hear only his opening words saying that he had never expected when he came first to Cuttack that there would be so much affection in store for him. " Then I ceased to listen but continued to gaze at his impassioned countenance which spoke volumes to me. There was an expression, a glow therein ." This was the first of the great influences on Subhas which built in him a Netaji to wage India's war of independence from abroad.

The next phase in Subhas's life was one of the stormiest on the psychical plane. It was a period of acute mental conflict causing untold suffering and agony. This could not be shared by any friend or visible to any outsider . The mental conflict was a two-fold one. Firstly, there was the natural attraction of a worldly life and of worldly pursuits. Against this his higher self had started revolting. Secondly, there was the growth of the sex consciousness, quite natural at that age. But he could suppress or transcend it considering that sense as unnatural and immoral. He had, therefore, to fight on two fronts. He at times felt weak before this stiff fight. In the height of this mental crisis , Subhas one day by sheer accident stumbled upon the greatest help to overcome the developing crisis in his mind. This had come from

the writings of Swami Vivekananda, the volumes of which Subhas found in the shelf of a relation living close to their house. Borrowing the volumes, he poured into them almost devouring its contents. The thoughts and utterances of the Swami thrilled him to the morrow of his bones. Subhas has written: "My headmaster had roused my aesthetic (study of nature) and moral sense - had given a new impetus to my life - but he had not given me an ideal to which I could give my whole being. That Vivekananda gave me". This was the second great influence on Subhas Chandra. The essence of Vivekananda's teaching which Subhas had imbibed was; "Atmano Mokshartham Jagaddhitaya" which meant, "your life for your own salvation and for the service of the humanity!" This became the goal of life for Subhas. The concept of the service for humanity of course included the service of one's own country - adoration of the motherland. Subhas was barely fifteen when Vivekananda entered his life. The swami had appeared before him as a full blown personality. From Vivekananda, Subhas gradually turned to his master Ramakrushna Paramahansa as a natural opening of the process From this saint, Subhas got a guiding principle which said that only through renunciation was realisation possible. This propelled Subhas to the belief that social service was necessary for spiritual development . Since God often comes in the form of the poor, serving the poor was God worship. This thought had taken him to the villages of the Cuttack district from time to time for serving the poor affected from the diseases of cholera and small pox.

Towards the end of Subhas's school career, his religious impulse began to grow in intensity. Studies were no longer of primary importance. In general, teachers failed to inspire him, except those who were followers of Ramakrushna and Vivekananda. About this time, his parents' *guru* visited Cuttack. He could rouse Subhas's religious interest still further. But, this

guru's influence on Subhas did not last long because, he was not a *sanyasi* - a hermit forsaking the world. Subhas sat for the matriculation examination in 1913 and came out second in the whole university. His parents were delighted. He was packed off to Calcutta for the Presidency college. Life in Calcutta as in any other metropolis which ruined many promising souls might have proved disastrous in case of Subhas, had he not gone there with certain definite ideas and principles fixed in his mind. By then, Subhas had made certain decisions for himself. He was not going to follow the beaten track in life, come what may. He was going to lead a life conducive to his spiritual welfare and the uplift of humanity. He was not going in for a worldly career. His early interest in ieligion had immensely helped him in moving steadily for the set goal. Standing on the threshold of his college career, he felt convinced that life had a meaning and a purpose. This could be fulfilled, he felt, by a regular schooling of the body and the mind. Subhas had already acquired this in his school life at Cuttack. He states: "But for this self-imposed schooling during my school life, I doubt, if I would have succeeded in facing the trials and tribulations of my later years."

As a college student, Subhas was attracted to the writings and letters of Aurobindo Ghosh (later Sri Aurobindo). One such letter influencing him was: "We must be dynamos of the divine electricity, so that when each of us stands up, thousands around may be full of light - full of bliss and Ananda." Aurobindo had sacrificed a lucrative career in order to devote himself to politics. On the congress platform, he had stood up as a champion and fearless advocate of independence at a time when most of the leaders would talk only of colonial self-government. This bold stance of Aurobindo must have given added inspiration to Subhas for a life of action in the cause of the motherland. Aurobindo's sudden exit from politics seems to have kept Subhas groping for a

line of action in the pursuit of his goal. He was not to be attracted towards the terrorist revolutionary movement then quite popular among the youth in Bengal. In the absence of a definite line of action at that stage, his attention was directed to two things - meeting as many religious teacher as possible and qualifying for social service. At college, he began to neglect his studies. For him, most of the teachers were uninteresting and the professors still more so. He would sit absent-minded and go on philosophizing about the purpose and objective of such studies. During his first year in college, he returned to Cuttack to spend the vacation there with his parents. Here he joined his old group of friends - social service enthusiasts. Once, when Subhas's parents were out of town for a few days, he joined the group that was going into the interior on a nursing mission to a locality stricken with cholera. In those days cholera was regarded as a fatal disease. Many had died before the team arrived there. Among the patients, they found and nursed, the majority did not recover. As to the spirit of this service Subhas writes: "Nevertheless, a week's experience opened a new world before my eyes and unfolded a picture of real India - the India of the villages where poverty stalks over the land, men die like flies and illiteracy is the prevailing order."

Subhas returned to Calcutta to undertake another phase of *Sadhu* hunting. About sixty miles from the city on the bank of a river near a district town there lived a young ascetic hailing from the Punjab. Subhas used to visit him frequently whenever he could get away from Calcutta. The ascetic would never take shelter under a roof for the ideal which he evidently preached was: "The sky the roof, the grass the bed, and food what chance may bring." Subhas was greatly impressed by this *sadhu*. His complete renunciation of worldly desires, his utter indifference to heat, cold etc., his mental purity and loving temperament had

produced in Subhas an impression dear to his heart. This had become a sustaining inspiration during his great adventure outside the country for the nation's political liberation . About this hermit Subhas writes: "If only he had been more intellectually developed, he could have lured me from my worldly moorings." After this contact with the *sadhu*, the desire to find a *guru* grew stronger and stronger in his mind. In the summer vacation of 1914, Subhas left on a pilgrimage with one of his friends. Visiting many places they came to Mathura where they lived in the house of a 'panda'. From there, they visited a hermit who was living in an underground room on the other bank of the river. He strongly advised them to return home and give up all ideas of renouncing the world. Since Subhas in his heart of hearts was seeing some source of inspiration to decide for a plunge to the world of his vision, the above advice of the *sadhu* annoyed him'. "I remember I was greatly annoyed at the hermit speaking in that fashion".

Not having found the *guru* he had wanted so much, Subhas was somewhat crest fallen. Returning from the pilgrimage, Subhas was laid down with fever. In the heat of fever, it struck to him that spiritual enlightenment was an effective medium for national service. Remembering Aurobindo, he felt that there was something original and unique in the sage's conception of a synthesis of different *yogas*. His mind was ringing with the simple words of Aurobindo: "I should like to see some of you becoming great; not for your own sake, but to make India great, so that she may stand up with head erect amongst the free nations of the world. Those of you who are poor and obscure- I should like to see their poverty and obsecurity devoted to the service of the motherland." Even then, the sphere from where Subhas was to launch his life's cherished mission had not come in sight. The political atmosphere of Calcutta at that time was dominated by terrorist revolutionaries and their propaganda

among students. But Subhas was never drawn to them. It was not because I believed in nonviolence as Mahatma Gandhi does, but because I was then living in a worldof my own and held that the ultimate salvation of our people would come through a process of national reconstruction. In spite of his constant mental exploration, he had not been able to trace the path for his life's mission. At last it came to him under certain chance circumstances. Two phenomenons propelled him to develop politically and strike out an independent line of action for himself One was the behaviour of the Britishers in Calcutta and the other was the great war that broke out in 1914.

Relating to the first factor, Subhas had his first taste of the British racial arrogance much earlier during his school life in the Baptist mission school at Cuttack. Then in the beginning of his college life in Calcutta he saw it in its real shape on the Calcutta streets. There were frequent incidents in tram cars when Britishers were putting up deliberately rude and offensive behaviour towards Indians in various ways. As for Subhas's personal experiences, often hot words would pass between Britishers and myself in the tram cars. On rare occasions some Indian passengers would come to blow with them : In conflicts of an inter-racial characters, the law was of no avail to the Indians. As a result, Indians took to the remedy of hitting back offences or assaults on them. It had given instantaneous good results. Everywhere Indians were treated with consideration. This had brought home a lesson to everybody that the English man understands and respects physical force and nothing else. This change with its positive impact had naturally sharpened the political consciousness of Subhas Chandra. But, it was not enough to give a definite turn to his mental design for the nation's fight against foreign rule. The more determining factor came in the great war that was started in Europe in 1914. This war soon escalating into a world war resolved

war soon escalating into a world war resolved the crisis troubling Subhas's mind for some time past as to the path for India's redemption . The impact of the war on his mind was held on the following lines. He had observed that the conclusion of the war had created an air of superiority in the average Britishers leading in turn to a bitterness between England and India. The Amritsar massacre in Jalianwalla Bag in 1919 had irreparably damaged any possibility of a Indo - British cooperation. Rather, there had developed an irreconcilable breach between the two nations. In this context Subhas felt : " If India was to be a modern civilised nation, she would have to pay the price and she would not by any means shirk the physical, the military problem. Those who worked for the country's emancipation would have to be prepared to take charge of both the civil and the military administration. Political freedom was indivisible and meant complete independence of foreign control and tutelage. The war had shown that a nation that did not possess military strength could not hope to preserve its independence." This thought of Subhas Chandra Bose found expression in action twenty five years after on the Burma front during the second world war. In the height of the war, Subhas Chandra as supreme commander of the Azad Hind Government and its Indian National Army entered on the Indian soil at Imphal as Liberator driving the Allied British forces from the region. Though this was short lived, Subhas Chandra now Netaji, had practised what he had preached in 1914. The principle of Sri Ramakrushna (preach and practise) which he had imbibed in his school days was now put into practice for the liberation of his motherland. His armed thrust into India soon leading to Indian's independence marked the inauguration of a revolution that brought about the political emancipation of the Afro Asian world from colonial domination of the West.

This was the role destiny reserved for Subhas Chandra. This would not have been there if Subhas had joined the order of sanyasis for a life of contemplation and meditation , leaving behind a life of sacrifice, suffering and action. The process of a rennaissance and reformation in India beginning with Raja Rammohan Ray and given shape by Sri Ramakrushna and Vivekananda was to have its culminating phase in a call to action for the national liberation in India.

By the will of the Providence, Subhas was meant to lead this phase for India's national emancipation. In this context, Subhas could not have joined a order of sanyasis or taken to the life of a wandering spiritual recluse which he sought so fervently as seen from his pilgrimages in search of a saint preceptor. He was destined to continue the on going process at the point left by Swami Vivekananda and become the swami's successor in the final act for 'Strength', is what the Upanishads say.' To sum up, the determining factors for building this great son of Mother India had come from his early influences during his early life at Cuttack. His views about life in cuttack in his own words are as follows:

(1) Cuttack the traditional capital of Orissa through the ages afforded a healthy environment for a growing child. It had the virtues of both city and country life.

(2) Life in Calcutta - like life in any other metropolis is not good for everybody and it has been the ruin of many promising souls . It might have proved disastrous in my case had not I come there with certain definite ideas and princilples fixed in my mind.

(3) Standing on the threshold of my college career, I felt convinced that life had a meaning and a purpose. To

fulfil that purpose a regular schooling of the body and the mind was necessary. But for the self-imposed schooling during my school life, I doubt it I would have succeeded in facing the trials and tribulations of my later years in view of the delicate constitution with which I had been endowed from my birth.

(4) I was lucky, however, that the environment in which I grew up was on the whole conducive to the broadening of my mind. In my infancy, I was brought into touch with English people, English education and English culture. After that I went back to our culture - both classical and modern - and even while I was at school I had inter- provincial contacts and friendship which I could have been deprived of if I had been living in Bengal.

Thus, the steel in Subhas Chandra Bose was tempered at Cuttack, the place of his birth, parents, school life and social service.



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OGP—MP—PTS (Tourism) 7—500—4-1-1998

APPENDIX

THE LABOUR ASSOCIATION, JAMSHEDPUR.

ESTD. 1920

JAMSHEDPUR.

Ref. No: Dated 12 11 1925

My dear Mr. Saklatvala,

I am thankful to you for your kind letter of the 3rd November. I shall reply to it shortly at length. In the meantime I should like to bring to your notice one or two points of importance.

You are aware that one of the important problems before the Company is that of Indianization. On this question public opinion in India is very keen. Tatas made a very good beginning several years back and this raised great hopes in the minds of the public. Unfortunately, for reasons which I need not enter into here, during the last few years there has been a sliding back. This has antagonised all sections of Indian labour. I think I told the Directors in September once that if there had been no invidious distinction between the covenanted hands and Indian employees — even under the present conditions there would have been less discontent than there is today.

Every reasonable employee in Jamshedpur realises that as long as the covenanted hands are here, they cannot easily be got rid of till the contracts expire. But every reasonable man will be satisfied if no fresh contract is entered into, when the old contract expires. If we can show in the future that no renewal of contract is taking place as the old contracts expire, we shall be able to [illegible] satisfy Indian labour. The other day I heard that the contract of the Chief Store Keeper (Mr [illegible] ?) was going to be renewed after expiry and I wrote to Mr. Alexander about it and consequently [illegible] to

THE LABOUR ASSOCIATION, JAMSHEDPUR.

Estd 1920

JAMSHEDPUR.

Tel. No. India 192

(2)

him. I said that if the contract was not renewed, the news would soon be broadcasted and it would give rise to general satisfaction. People would begin to feel that a new chapter in the history of the Company had begun. Unfortunately, Mr. Alexander did not take my advice in good part and I did not therefore like to pursue the matter any further. Since then I have been informed that the contract of Mr. Fletcher, Asst. Superintendent of the Rolling Mill (West Plant) is going to be renewed. I am not in a position to verify the report but I shall be sorry if it is true.

I am trying my best to straighten out things with the G. M. and the General Superintendent and on the whole we are getting on well. But there are matters in which we shall have to count on the Board's assistance and particularly on your assistance. Indianization is one of these questions. I hope the Board will scrutinize very carefully every case in which the old contracts are renewed.

I know that in this matter I am writing to you behind the back of the G. M. and I would not ordinarily like to do so. But I am doing so today because I feel very strongly that the future of this industry – including peace in the labour world – depends largely on Indianization. This is a point which

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JAMSHEDPUR,

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(3)

foreigners — however good they otherwise may be — cannot sufficiently appreciate. I have no doubt that if you go ahead with your policy of Indianization, you will be able to ingratiate yourself with your Indian employees, your countrymen as well as with public leaders of all shades of opinion.

You need not trouble about writing with your own hand. I am doing so, simply because I want this letter to be confidential.

I am replying to your letter of the 3rd. shortly.

With best regards

Yours

Yours sincerely

Subhas C Bose

OGP—MP—PTS (Tourism) 7—500—1-12-1997

Printed at Orissa Government Press, Madhupatna, Cuttack-10